THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. XI.

JANUARY—JUNE, 1849.

No man, who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED FOR THE PROPRIETOR, BY SAUNDERS, CONES AND CO.,
No. 7, MISSION ROW, AND SOLD BY ALL THE BOOKSELLERS.

1849.

CONTENTS

OF

No. XXII.—Vol. XI.

ART. I.—MARTIN ON THE RE-OCCUPATION OF NEGRAIS.

1. A Brief Topographical and Historical Notice of Calcutta: with a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of Sanitary Improvement in the East Indies. By J. R. Martin, F.R.S. London: 1847. (Printed for private circulation). 257
2. Statistical Report of the Sickness and Mortality among the Troops serving in the Madras Presidency. Prepared from Official Documents. Printed by Order of the Madras Government. By T. Graham Balfour, M.D., Grenadier Guards, 1847. *ib*
3. Memoir (Part the First) on the Political, Naval, Military, and Commercial Advantages of the Re-occupation of Negrais Island; including (Part the Second) its Advantages as a Place of Resort to the European Sick of Calcutta and Madras. By J. R. Martin. (Privately printed), 1813. *ib*

ART. II.—NEW SOUTH WALES, AND THE CRISIS OF 1844.

1. Mitchell's Australian Expeditions. 2 vols. 1839. . 282
2. Narrative of a visit to the Australian Colonies, by J. Backhouse. 1843. *ib*
3. Narrative of an Expedition into Central Australia in 1844-5-6, by Captain Sturt. London. 1849 . . . *ib*
4. Twelve years in the British Colonies from 1835 to 1847, by J. Byrne. London. 1848. *ib*
5. Australia, its history and present condition, by the Rev. W. Pridden. London. 1848. *ib*

6. Enterprise in Tropical Australia, by G. Earl. 1846 . 282
7. Burton on Religion and Education in New South Wales. *ib.*

ART. III.—REVELATIONS CONCERNING THE POLICE AND COURTS.

The Revelations of an Orderly, by Paunchkouri Khan. Being an attempt to expose the abuses of administration, by the relation of every day occurrences in the Mofussil Courts. Benares: Printed at the Recorder Press: 1848. 318

ART. IV.—PHYSICAL ERRORS OF HINDUISM.

1. The Vishnu Purána, translated from the original Sanskrit, by H. H. Wilson, M. A. F. R S., 1 vol. 4to. London, 1840. 397
2. The Mahábhárata, 4 vols. 4to. Calcutta, 1836-39. . . *ib.*
3. The Ramáyana, 5 vols. 8vo. Serampore, 1802. . . *ib.*
4. Goladhyáya, edited by L. Wilkinson, Esq. Calcutta, 1842. *ib.*
5. Grahalaghava, edited by L. Wilkinson, Esq. Calcutta, 1843. *ib.*
6. Ganitądhyáya, edited by L. Wilkinson, Esq. Calcutta, 1842. *ib.*
7. Asiatic Researches, 4to. London and Calcutta, 1799, &c. *ib.*
8. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta, 1832, &c. *ib.*

ART. V.—BAGGAGE OF THE INDIAN ARMY.

A letter to the Right Hon'ble Sir J. Hobhouse, President of the Board of Controul, on the Baggage of the Indian Army; by Sir Charles James Napier, G. C. B., Lieutenant General, and Colonel of the 22nd Regiment of Foot. London, 1849. 445

ART. VI.—THE BENGALI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

1. Introduction to the Bengali Language, by the late Rev. W. Yates, D. D. Edited by J. Wenger. . . . 493

Art. VII.—CUNNINGHAM'S HISTORY OF THE SIKHS.

A History of the Sikhs, from the origin of the nation to the battles of the Sutlej; by Joseph Davey Cunningham, Lieutenant of Engineers, and Captain in the Army of India. London, 1849. 523

Miscellaneous Critical Notices.

1. Bengal Hurkaru, May 8th.—Speech of the Hon'ble J. L. Drinkwater Bethune, Esq., on the opening of his Native School xxi
2. Railways for Bombay, with illustrative Maps. Bombay, American Mission Press, 1849, pp. 19 . . . xxx
3. Tables for paying or receiving Wages, House Rent, &c., &c., from eight annas to 1,000 rupees per month: to which is added Tables for reducing Bazar weights into Factory and English weights, from one chittack to 1,000 maunds, and Interest and Commission Tables. Sanders, Cones and Co., Calcutta, 1848. . xli

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

ART. I.—1. *A Brief Topographical and Historical Notice of Calcutta: with a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of Sanitary Improvement in the East Indies. By J. R. Martin, F.R.S. London:* 1817. *(Printed for private circulation.)*

2. *Statistical Report of the Sickness and Mortality among the Troops serving in the Madras Presidency. Prepared from Official Documents. Printed by Order of the Madras Government. By T. Graham Balfour, M.D., Grenadier Guards,* 1817.

3 *Memoir (Part the First) on the Political, Naval, Military, and Commercial Advantages of the Re-occupation of Negrais Island; including (Part the Second) its Advantages as a Place of Resort to the European Sick of Calcutta and Madras. By J. R. Martin. (Privately printed,)* 1813.

THE titles of these works, and the order of their location at the head of this article, clearly set forth our present design. We believe that we shall do good service, if we only help to circulate the valuable information collected, and the benevolent projects urged so luminously and so earnestly, by Mr. Martin. We purpose, indeed, to do little more. Mr. Martin's Memoirs have been printed only for private distribution, and are, therefore, inaccessible to the majority of our readers. Among that number there are not many, from whom the name alone, of one who has lived so long and worked so diligently amongst us, as the writer of these papers on Calcutta and Negrais, will not secure a respectful hearing.

Whatever may be the real claim of Calcutta to the flattering title of a "City of Palaces,"* there can be little doubt, that it has

* Dr. Hooker, in letters written during his botanical mission to India, and published in the first number of Hooker's (Sir William Jackson) *Journal of Botany and Kew Garden Miscellany*, published at the commencement of the present year, says, "Calcutta, as a city, is much over-praised; it has grandeur enough, but, except in the Oriental Bazar and the costumes of the natives, there is not a picturesque feature connected with it—not one street view stops you. The Hooghly, a noble river in itself, is a mere canal amongst architectural features of such dimensions. Chowringhee is a noble road, one side open over a vast greensward plain to the river, and the other a continuous line of first-rate English houses, and is a fine coup d'œil from the said plain; and the palatial Government-House on the left, and the new Cathedral to the

long possessed and unfortunately still possesses, a very clear right to the appellation of the "City of Sepulchres." Long before, among us Englishmen, the "Ditcher" class had risen, our Mussulman predecessors had discovered that Bengal was a place fitly adapted as a residence for criminals, whom it was desirable to kill off without the aid of the rope or the sword. "The climate of Bengal," says a Persian writer, quoted by Mr. Martin, "on account of the inclemency of the air and water, was deemed inimical to the constitution of Moguls and other foreigners, and only those officers who laboured under the royal displeasure were stationed there; and this fertile soil, which enjoys a perpetual spring, was considered a strong prison—as the *land of spectres, the seat of disease, and the mansion of death.*" Another native writer, with reference to the same subject, observes, "The Mussulman invaders of the west of Hindustan, who afterwards established themselves on the throne of Delhi, considered this country, Bengal, to be Dojakh, or *an infernal region;* and whenever any Ameers or courtiers were found guilty of capital crimes, and the rank of the individual did not permit their being beheaded, while policy at the same time rendered their removal necessary, they were banished to Bengal. The air and water of Bengal were considered so bad as to lead to the certain death of the criminal." A lesson this that has been learnt by Christian monarchs, who have contrived ere now so to kill off state-prisoners, whom they have feared to behead. It was thus that Napoleon killed off Toussaint L'Ouverture, and thus, according to Napoleon and his friends, he was killed off himself.

The "land of spectres"—the "mansion of death"—an "infernal region"—so the English also have found this province of Bengal—this city of Calcutta. In one of the earliest notices of the latter that is extant, it is quaintly said by Captain Hamilton, who was here at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, "The Company has a pretty good hospital at Calcutta, where many go in to undergo the

right, are, though far from faultless buildings, noble objects, and, on the whole, good supporters of the frontage; but the ships in the Hooghly rise out of the land and intrude upon the view, whilst Government-house and the Cathedral are each too faulty in proportion to be individually pleasing to the eye. There is nothing in Calcutta to compare with the noble Plazas of Lisbon and many other towns; for those are cities of palaces, where the aggregate of the community unite to raise noble buildings, while here the few dwell in palaces, constructed without reference to the general features of the city. Oxford is a city of colleges; Cambridge has colleges; and however effective the structures of the latter may individually be, they do not, in the aggregate, produce the effect so obvious in the former. So it may be conceded that Calcutta is a city *with* palaces, and plenty of them; but a city *of* palaces is very different."

penance of physic, but few come out to give an account of its operation."

. . . "One year I was there, and there were reckoned in August about 1,200 English,—some military, some servants of the Company, some private merchants residing in the town, and some seamen belonging to the shipping lying in the town; and before the beginning of January there were four hundred and sixty burials registered in the clerks' books of mortality." Mr. Tennant, writing at the end of last century, refers to this remarkable fact; and, speaking of the rapid growth of Calcutta, pertinently observes, "To have increased in forty years in so unhealthy a spot to its present population of five hundred thousand souls implies a degree of prosperity, amidst all the irregularities of an infant settlement, that is unparalleled in any quarter of the world." And again, in another chapter—"The climate of almost every inter-tropical region is unfavourable to European constitutions. Those flat countries where moisture is combined with heat are unquestionably more injurious to health than such as are dry. Hence the climate of Batavia has long proved one of the most fatally pernicious ever visited by Europeans. Calcutta was, at first, deemed hardly less destructive than Batavia. Its situation, surrounded by a flat and marshy country, was productive of the same effect. The vicinity has since been cleared considerably of trees and jungle, and some of the more offensive marshes have been drained; much, however, still must be done, before it can merit the character of a healthy town." "Much, indeed!" may be added more than half a century later.

The old writers almost uniformly attribute the unhealthiness of Calcutta to the contiguity of the Salt-water Lake. Hamilton says—"Charnock being then the Company's agent in Bengal, he had liberty to settle an emporium on any part of the river's side below Hoogly, and, for the sake of a large shady tree, chose that place, though he could not have chosen a more unhealthy place on all the river; for three miles to the north-east is a salt-water lake, that overflows in September and October, and then prodigious numbers of fish resort thither; but in November and December, when the floods are dissipated, these fishes are left dry, and with their putrefaction affect the air with their stinking vapours, which the north-east winds bring with them to Fort William, when they cause a yearly mortality." Dr. Lind, to whose authority Mr. Tennant refers, and whom Mr. Martin has quoted more than once, writing, in 1792, on the same subject, observes,—"The fever with which Calcutta is visited is to be attributed chiefly to the lake. To the north end of the town it

is all wet soil, and fit only for raising rice, but not a whit healthier than the Great Lake." To the Salt-water Lake almost all competent authorities, from Hamilton to Martin, attribute the unhealthiness of Calcutta. But we must not assign to this cause alone the frightful mortality which, in the time of the earliest settlers, converted the growing city into a great Golgotha. The Salt-water Lake still exists—a standing source of disease and death. But we have ceased to destroy ourselves by intemperance; we live in what may be called houses; and we are constantly tended by some of the ablest, the most enlightened, the most assiduous medical practitioners in the world.

On the improved physical condition of the English in India, as resulting, from improved moral habits, we have already commented in this journal. We purpose here only to speak of material causes of disease. Mr Martin, as we have said, like his predecessors, sees in the Salt-water Lake a gigantic reservoir of fever. His account of this and other suburban tracts is worth quoting:—

The Salt-water Lake lies about three miles east of the city, extending upwards of four miles north and south. It is composed of pits and shallows, and is no-where of considerable depth,—the entire area comprising eighteen square miles and a half, or about 12,000 acres. A considerable portion of the area here described is left, at each reflux of the tide, exposed to a seething sun by day, and to the heat and moisture of the night, during nine months in the year; while the common borders of the Lake are hardly of better condition, being generally under rice-cultivation, with occasional patches of long reed-grass, both reeking with pestilential vapours. This may be truly termed "the Lake of the Dismal Swamp." The average level of the ground in and around Calcutta is between three and five feet above the average of high water, both the upper and sub-soil being pervious to water, the general character being alluvial. A section of the several strata give alternations of loose sand, blue and yellow clay, with here and there a stratum of peat, some of the beds nearly 100 feet in thickness. At 357 to 430 feet, bones were found; and at 390 feet, pieces of wood. Brackish water is obtained at from eighteen to twenty feet; while at 480 feet no spring water was reached. More remotely, Calcutta has, to the south and east, extending for 180 miles along the sea, and covering a superficies of 20,000 square miles, the woody tract of the Sunderbunds, consisting of jungle and marsh, including the embouchures of the Ganges; while to the north and west it has the extensive tract of annual inundation, anciently called Beng—a great alluvial flat—"the work of the Ganges." This tract is intersected, like the Sunderbunds, with innumerable rivers, and in the rainy season is deeply covered over. No words, and no experience of other scenes, can convey an adequate idea of the oppressive gloom and desolation of the vast wilderness of the Sunderbunds—that huge labyrinth of jungle and rivers:—

> "Here rocks alone and tasteless sands are found,
> And faint and sickly winds for ever howl around."

It is sad to reflect that this desolation has been the work of man—of outlawed runaways, chiefly Portuguese, from their ancient settlements in Goa

Cochin, and Ceylon, aided by pirates and vagabonds from the neighbouring coasts. The wastes, now "the abode of tigers, rhinoceroses, and alligators—the seat of malaria," were described, three centuries back, as containing "beautiful cities and gardens," and as "fine isles well peopled." "The unhealthy kingdom of Bengal"—the Delta of the Ganges—like Guiana, is below the general level of the Sea at high water mark; and like, Guiana also, it would be uninhabitable from continued stagnation, but for the silted elevation of the river-banks, and the fluctuating declivity occasioned by the retiring tides.

Before leaving Calcutta, Mr. Martin submitted to Government a memoir "On the Draining of the Salt-water Lake," with a view to bringing its extensive area of 12,000 acres under cultivation, and thereby improving the climate of Calcutta. In this memoir, as printed in Appendix I. of the Calcutta Sanitary Commission's Report, he says; "Next in importance to the 'great works required, in and around the city of Calcutta, to 'render the climate comparatively salubrious, the clearing of the 'Sunderbunds and the draining of the Salt-water Lake claim our 'notice." The author, after some prefatory observations on the influence of the Sunderbunds, and on the former states of the Salt-water Lake as to extent and depth, goes on to say that "to reclaim the ground, now covered by the lake, for the pur-'poses of agriculture, is easy; but to deprive it of its character 'of marsh, and thus retain it, is not so." "It is 'not sufficient to convert the ground into a state of soft low 'meadow-land, for the most dangerous exhalations are those 'which are retained and occasionally emitted from under a crust 'of earth, during the drying process, whereby they would 'appear to acquire unusual concentration, and to prove the 'origin of the worst fevers. It is necessary that the ground 'be thoroughly drained, leaving none of the characters of marsh, 'otherwise it had better be left as it is; its present condition 'being one of far greater safety than such half-drained soil as 'that of Chatreuse, for instance, near Bordeaux, which caused, 'in the year 1805, 12,000 persons to be affected with fever 'within the city, of whom 3,000 died in five months.

"Two modes of effecting the drainage suggest themselves—the 'one by letting in the river during the rains, and thereby gain-'ing a succession of deposits of the river silt, so as gradually to 'fill the inequalities of the ground now occupied by the lake, 'and thereby bring it in time to a level with the surrounding 'land. This would seem the easiest; it imitates the simple 'operations of nature, and it would be the cheapest, but perhaps 'not the most conducive to health. Another mode is by a deep 'and well-constructed canal, so as to effect the drainage; but as 'even this must, to a certain degree, prove a receptacle for

'noxious matter, and offer a considerable surface for evapora-
'tion, a close line of umbrageous trees should be planted on
'each side of the canal, as being proverbially attractive of marsh
'exhalation." After referring to the use of trees, by ancient and modern people, for the purpose alluded to, the author adds :—"The ground cleared from water should be well
'ploughed and cultivated, the ploughing to be done during the
'heaviest rain, so as to prevent exhalation: for it is during a
'certain stage of the drying process that exhalation is concen-
'trated: and it has been observed in many countries that the
'drying-up of brackish water is more injurious than that of
'either salt or fresh alone. A succession of crops purifies and
'evaporates the soil, and thereby obviates exhalations; but they
'should not be of rice, or of such crops as require profuse
'irrigation. The want of attention to some of the precaution-
'ary measures above hinted at has neutralised the advantages
'that would otherwise have resulted from extensive drainings,
'executed in some parts of France and Italy: and I have
'only thus long dwelt on that of the Salt-water Lake, because its
'proper performance I know to be a matter of great importance
'to this city, as far as regards the prevention of disease; and
'I need not insist on the superior efficacy of preventive mea-
'sures, such as have advanced in our own country" (the writer here refers to the benefits of agriculture only,) "apace with our
'civilisation, and altogether banished from us some of the se-
'verest calamities that have ever afflicted the human race."

The principles here sketched forth will be found to apply to all countries, and emphatically to all intertropical climates. Their application is now much needed at Sarawak. They may, indeed, be applied with great results to every station in India. While touching on the subject of local improvement throughout India, and of the results of Mr. Martin's systematic plans of prevention of disease, we would refer to his suggestions for the removal of the European troops throughout India to the mountain ranges—a measure of the first importance, whether we consider the efficiency of the army, or the saving in life and money.

In a supplement to the memoir here referred to, dated Barrackpore, August 28, 1839 (a station to which Mr. Martin retired in extreme suffering from one of those fevers of Calcutta of which he has so spoken) he calls the attention of the Sanitary Commission, of which he had been two years a member, to the results of drainages executed in several of the West Indian colonies, and in the several military stations in the Mediterranean. Here he furnishes practical illustrations of a modern date

and which are powerfully illustrative, in proof of the advantages as regards public health to be derived from systematic drainage, cultivation, &c.

But let us do what we may with Calcutta and its vicinity—let us drain the Salt-water Lake, and carry out all our projected sanitary improvements to the utmost, still will remain the original curse of the moist heats of Bengal. We may modify the evils under which we suffer; but we cannot wholly remove them But we have another remedy at hand. Next to the means of turning a bad climate into a good one, the blessing most eagerly to be sought is the means of escaping readily from the bad. In this respect, it must be conceded that already Calcutta has some peculiar advantages. A little while ago we were dazzled with bright visions of lines of railway from the metropolis to the north-western frontier of India, by which an invalid might be transported in a couple of days from the Mahratta ditch to the foot of the Himalayahs. We saw, in imagination, the sick man carefully placed, with abundant pillows and other appliances, in the spacious and comfortable first-class carriage, his soda-water or lemonade, ice-encircled, wrapped up in a horse-blanket, and stowed away under the seat; his medicine in the pockets of the carriage; his morning paper in his hand; his review in a corner to be taken up when the last news from the Punjab has been read and digested: his servants in a contiguous second-class carriage ready to ask if the sahib wants anything, at all the principal intervening stations; and so we saw him whirled, in less time than it now takes to go to Berhampore, to the very foot of the northern hills. We saw the toil-worn commercial Ditcher making good use of the Doorga-Poojah by rushing off to Simla or Mussoorie for a fortnight, and returning to take up the bills falling due "after the holidays." We saw, too, the ambitious civilian, eager to recruit himself and enlarge his ideas during his month's leave of absence, setting off to look in upon our camp on the banks of the Sutlej, or the Chenab, and coming back to tell his partners at the Town Hall that he had been lucky enough to fall in with a general action, and what he thought of the same. But all these bright visions are now dissipated. We awake to the sad reality af guarantees ignored, companies dissolved, and floods of objurgatory pamphlets: and so awaking, fall back upon the great substantial fact of our steam *ships*. Calcutta steameth not by land, but by water. When the invalid would fly from our moist, exhausting climate, which forbids all convalescence, he must betake himself to the boat. And fortunate it is that he has such a resource at hand. How many lives have those magic fire-ships saved! We have known, in days when steamers

were few or none, the imperative mandate, pronounced by the far seeing physician, to "get away from Calcutta," most unwillingly disobeyed for want of the means of getting away; and the patient demonstrating the soundness of the advice by dying before the ship on which he has taken his passage has been got ready to sail. More fortunate in these times, it seldom happens that the sick man need wait many days for the means of rushing into a better climate. There is almost sure to be a steamer ready to convey him within the renovating influence of the sea-breezes of the Bay of Bengal.

The importance of getting away from Calcutta—as a remedial or a prophylactic measure—has been sufficiently understood, almost ever since the settlement was founded. "The unhealthy town of Calcutta," wrote good old Dr. Lind, "has in its neighbourhood the healthy stations of Barasett and Ghyrette, where the gentlemen residing in Calcutta should retire in the months of July, August, September, and October. Both Chandernagore and Chinsurah, the French and Dutch settlements in Bengal, are more healthy than Calcutta." Commenting upon this fact Mr. Martin observes:—

Their necessities drove the older inhabitants to seek shelter, during the period of danger, in the healthier localities mentioned by Dr. Lind; and, admitting their superiority over Calcutta, the advantages to the sick must yet have been small comparatively. I have seen the same measure continually under trial there, from the want of a better resource, and, in severe cases, with but slender benefit; indeed, there is but one direction that offers a chance of recovery to the really sick, and that is, the neighbourhood of the sea, or an insular climate. It is to these above all others that the inhabitants of Calcutta and Madras should look; and there is not a year that I did not witness the most lamentable sacrifice of health, and of life too, from want of such a place of resort, especially during the S. W. monsoon, when persons in a state of extreme illness are unable to undertake a long voyage, in the face of the S. W. monsoon and a southern winter. From an extensive observation of the effects of a residence in the mountain ranges, I should be disposed to consider them as chiefly beneficial in *preserving* health, and in this sense they will always be found of the greatest importance to military prophylaxis. I have seen officers in great numbers every year proceeding to the Cape and to England, in whose cases a residence of one or two seasons in the hills had been insufficient to overcome the habit of recurrence even of common Intermittent Fever. I have witnessed better results in a great variety of instances from a two months' voyage to sea;—such is its superior influence on health.* The result of all my personal observation would therefore lead me to the conclusion that, when Europeans have contracted disease, or are suffering from protracted convalescence on the continent of India, there are distinctive characters

* There went to the hill ranges during the ten years ending 31st December, 1837..... 723 officers.
Ditto to the Colonies of N. S. Wales, the Cape, and Mauritius 242 ditto.

Total during ten years.... 965

which give a preference to an insular climate over every other;—viz, the purity of its atmosphere, and its equability of temperature, both of which are enjoyed by an insular position in a degree nowhere else to be found. In Madeira, for instance, the Winter is 12 deg. *warmer* than in Italy or France, while the Summer is 5 deg. *cooler*; and while the mean annual range at Madeira is only 14 deg., it is double that amount at Pisa, Rome, Naples, and Nice. The nearer mountain ranges have of late been looked to with much solicitude by the inhabitants of Calcutta and Madras; but without comparing the qualities of their atmosphere, or reckoning the difficulties to the really sick in reaching such places, my own experience, together with the results all over India, lead me to the conclusion already stated.

We are inclined, upon this point, to agree with Mr. Martin; and the opinion of the greater number of our highest medical authorities sets in the same direction. We duly estimate the importance of change of air, under any circumstances; and we set high value upon the sanatory influences of our several hill stations. They have preserved the health and prolonged the lives of thousands. But the uses of these inland sanitaria are of a distinct character. They are chiefly, as Mr. Martin says, beneficial in preserving health; and in this sense they will always be found of the greatest importance to military prophylaxis. They are not equally serviceable in a restorative character. They may fortify men against attacks of acute disease; but, once attacked, they are rarely able to restore the sick man to health. They do not eradicate the seeds of his disorder, and breathe new life into him, as does the invigorating and purifying sea-breeze. The effect of sea air upon the patient reduced to the extremest state of exhaustion by acute disease—especially by fever—is often so sudden, as quite to assume the aspect of a miracle. We have seen men carried on board to all appearance moribund. We have seen a sallow, emaciated, hollow-eyed object, wrapped up in a cloak and propped up with pillows, placed upon deck in a reclining chair, too weak to lift a hand, almost too feeble to convey an order to the quick ear of a Bengalee servant,—seemingly with no power left in him, but the power to die. We have seen such a man, his soul, as it were, knocking at the very gates of death, exhibit symtoms of revival in a few hours; something of the old distress passing away from his pale face—something of the feebleness from his voice—something of the utter languor and prostration, which were so painfully visible in his every motion and his every accent, subsiding under the cheering influence of the fresh river air, scarcely yet even redolent of the still distant sea. And when the breezes, though the ocean itself be not yet visible, are really odorous of the salt waves, how striking the change in the aspect and demeanour of the sick man. His face brightens up with a

glow of hope; he converses with something of cheerfulness in his manner; he takes an interest in what is going on around him; he essays to move without assistance: he is soon to be seen walking the deck. A day or two of genuine sea-air, and he is altogether a different man. The fear then is of too much confidence—too much self-indulgence. Convalescence is so rapid that the patient is prone to take liberties with himself. That danger escaped, the cure is speedily accomplished. Hope is the best of tonics, and there is nothing so hope-inspiring as the sea-breeze.*

"Leave to sea"—such is the grand remedy, when the *sequelæ* of violent fevers, or other acute diseases, are not to be shaken off. Various are the forms it assumes, from the two years leave to the Cape and New South Wales, to the trip between musters to the Sand-heads; or the run down the river on one of the Oriental and Peninsular Company's steamers to meet the in-coming vessel; or, this failing, to wait its arrival on a pilot brig. Some visit Singapore and Penang,—perhaps go on to China. Others take the steamers to Moulmein or Ceylon; or run down to the Madras coast; or take advantage of a surveying cruise in the Bay. In whatever direction the voyage may be made, and whatever its duration, sea air is the one thing sought; and sea air is the grand restorative. But there are discomforts and distresses on board ship. At some seasons of the year they are considerable. A voyage, for example down the Bay of Bengal, in the teeth of the south-west monsoon, has nothing very desirable in it. We have been more than a month making Madras—a month of dreary, rainy, squally weather, with wet decks and dead-lights often in; and everything that could possibly retard convalescence—bad water, bad food, and eternal noise included. Board

* A more striking illustrative proof of the extraordinary and almost instantaneous effects of the removal of sick men from the deteriorating influence of the land to a pure marine atmosphere, than that afforded last year by the case of the 95th (Queen's) Regiment, which, after upwards of 100 deaths from fever had occurred within a short time in barracks, was very judiciously sent to sea by General Staveley, is not on record. The regiment was almost immediately restored to its ordinary state of health. An English Military Journal, (the *United Service Gazette*) alluding to this circumstance, puts forth an excellent suggestion, to which we are glad to give increased currency:—

"There are numerous old seventy fours now floating useless at Portsmouth and Plymouth, and in the waters of the Medway. We would suggest that one of those ships be immediately fitted out as a Guard ship, and sent to Hong Kong. A man of war, such as she would appear, in the harbor of that port, would, there is no doubt, not only check the turbulence of the Canton rabble, but prove a Naval protection to our trade in the vicinity of that rising colony. Hammocks and bedding sufficient for a regiment should be put on board (1,000 men could be conveniently accommodated in such a ship anchored), and on the earliest appearance of sickness—before it has had time to affect the spirits of the men—the troops should be removed from the locality where the disease was engendered, to the purer atmosphere which certainly the harbor would afford. By this means the expense of preparing the ship and of her voyage out might, in one season only, be covered by the saving of so many valuable lives."

ship, indeed, is not a very good place for a sick man. The great desideratum is a marine sanitarium only a few days' voyage from Calcutta. A sanitarium in every way adapted by nature to such a purpose (but necessarily requiring the labour of man to perfect it) Mr. Martin is certain may be found in our "ancient settlement of Negrais." The advantages of its situation are at once recognisable by all who know where to find the island on the map. Of its intrinsic advantages, assisted by Mr. Martin, we may now proceed to speak.

In September, 1830, Mr. Mangles, then secretary to the Government of Bengal, wrote to Captain Dickenson, commissioner at Arracan, submitting certain queries relative to the island of Negrais, which the latter in due course answered. The substance of the information, which he was able to collect, may be thus succinctly stated. The circumference of the island is eighteen miles, and its area about ten square miles. It is distant two miles from the nearest shore, and may be seen from the sea sixteen miles off, from which fact we may assume that the elevation of the island is considerable. The soil is sandy towards the coast, and alluvial more inland. Of the "natural productions" little more can be said, than that there are some gurjun trees, and a fair supply of ubiquitous jungle. It is stated that "some of the land in the interior might be cultivated with paddy." Water is plentiful and of good quality, found at the depth of three or four cubits, "no streams, but a few springs." There is good shelter for shipping at all seasons of the year. To the question, "are there any lakes or morasses?" it was at first answered, "none;" but Captain Dickenson states in a post script, "Further intelligence informs me that there is a small morass (Theab or Dhepa) in the island, and about 20 or 25 dorns of land cultivated and sown with paddy." Of the population it is stated (1836) that there are said to be about 50 families, Burmese and Talcins, engaged in fishing and preparing balichong—"nothing known of their physical character. In their habits and customs they do not differ from the Burmese and Mugs;" "they eat every thing and burn their dead." Their houses are constructed of bamboos and leaves, raised on machaums or raised stages, as in Arracan; and lastly, the harbour is said to be good holding ground, and to possess all the advantages of security and convenience ascribed to it. Such is the substance of the official information, now before Government and the world. Mr. Martin supplies, from other sources, a considerable mass of important intelligence, relative to the island and the main land adjacent. "It has always appeared to me," he writtes, "that on every account our ancient settlement of Negrais merits our

especial notice, and that, amongst the least of its advantages, may be numbered its proximity to Calcutta and Madras, being but four days steaming from the former, and its accessibility at all seasons. Its insular climate too, its geological character, its free exposure to the influence of the S. W. monsoon during eight months of the year, its noble harbour, easy of ingress and egress under every change of season, all point it out as a place of the highest promise; in short, next to the special improvement of the two capitals referred to, the possession of some such place of resort for the sick is the desideratum."

Of Negrais itself Mr. Crawford reported, as the result of all his inquiries on the subject, that "the climate is considered by the natives perfectly salubrious." Of the main country adjacent Dr. Buchanan Hamilton says, "the anastomosing branches of the Pegue rivers beyond the reach of the tides are chiefly swelled by the periodical rains, and many of them, for a great portion of the year, are nearly dry, but for a time they are of much use both as fertilizing the country and for commerce, as during floods they admit of extensive navigation. They also contribute much to the health of the climate by carrying off superfluous water, and by preventing it from corrupting the air; so that Rangoon, surrounded by inosculating rivers, enjoys a salubrious air, very unlike Calcutta, Dacca, and the intermediate places, which are still more unhealthy. One of the most remarkable features of the country, the Delta of the Irrawaddy, is that although it is far from level, consisting chiefly of swelling grounds, many places of which contain rock, and although in many places these rise even to hills disposed in ridges of considerable length, though of no great elevation, yet the rivers anastomose almost as much as in the lowlands and Bengal, where there is not the slightest trace of rock, stone, or eminence." Of the general climate of the country, Colonel Symes—an excellent authority, for he speaks from practical experience—reports most favourably, having lost during his embassy "only one man by disease." There are frequent allusions in the Colonel's interesting volumes* to the salubrity of the climate "In addition," he writes, "to the comfort we experienced from living at ease, and having every want liberally supplied, our gratitude was due to Providence for the inestimable blessing of health, which we enjoyed to a degree that fully evinced the salubrity of the climate; not a symptom of sickness, in a single instance excepted, had manifested itself among our people." (Vol. III.) And again, in

* An Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava, sent by the Governor-General of India, in the year 1795. By Michael Symes, Esq., Lieut.-Colonel in her Majesty's 76th Regiment.

the preceding volume, "The climate of every part of the Burman empire which I have visited bore testimony to its salubrity by the best possible criterion, the appearance and vigour of the natives. The seasons are regular, and the extremes of heat and cold are seldom experienced—at least, the duration of that intense heat, which immediately precedes the commencement of the rainy season, is so short, that it incommodes but for a very little time. During our residence in the country we lost only one man by disease."

It is true, that certain untoward circumstances have given rise to a belief that the Burmese provinces are not remarkable for salubrity. We all remember the calamities of the war. But there is much truth in what Mr. Martin, who speaks from personal experience (he was in medical charge of the Body-guard during the war), says upon this subject:—

> Those amongst us who would judge the climate of Pegue by the fate of the European army at Rangoon, must be told that, neither there nor anywhere else, were the soldiers cut off by uncomplicated tropical diseases, as in India. It was scorbutic disease, and that seriously complicated with every casual illness arising in the course of a most arduous service, that destroyed the force; and this terrible scourge was no more affected in its progress by the climate of Pegue, than would have happened at any of our best stations in India during the rainy season, during which field operations continued to be carried on. Climate, in short, was one of the very least of the causes that led to the destruction of the European force, and this truth is amply borne out by the healthy condition comparatively of the native portion of the army. The writer of this memoir served with the forces under Sir Archibald Campbell, with which he marched from Rangoon to Upper Ava. The climate throughout was both agreeable and salubrious, and, with all the hardships and privations of the two campaigns, from which all the horses of the corps perished, there were but few deaths amongst the soldiers of the body-guard, other than by casualties in the field.

Many examples might be quoted of great mortality among our troops in places not generally insalubrious. Thus, to cite a recent instance, it would be eminently unjust to attribute to the climate of Chusan, the destroying power which cut up the noble Cameronian corps. We may corrode the vitals of an army with putrid food, or we may send it to rot in a miasmatic swamp, such as are common to all countries—but it is not the cruelty of the climate, but the cruelty of man, that commits these wholesale murders. There are destructive influences which no body of troops can withstand in the finest climate in the world.

But it is especially the insular situation of Negrais, and its accessibility both from Calcutta and Madras, which favourably recommend it as a sanitarium. We regret that we have no statistics—indeed, that there are no Indian statistics in existence, demonstrating the superior salubrity of coast stations over

those, whether on high or low ground, situated in the interior of the country. As regards the eastern coast, we have Arracan on the one hand, and Maulmain on the other. The medical records of the Madras Presidency, complete as they are, throw no light upon the subject. Dr. Balfour, of the Guards, has grouped into one interesting and instructive report, the returns received from all the military stations in the Madras Presidency. His report shows the mortality at the several stations on the plains, or the table-lands, and on the sea-coast; but, as far as the present inquiry is concerned, it leads to no very satisfactory results. From the tabular statements it would appear that on the plains the rate per 1,000 among the troops is 32.4, on the table-lands 41, and on the sea-coast 37.1. According to this, it would appear that the plains of Madras are more salubrious than either the hill-stations, or the sea-coast. But the returns from the plains exhibit only one European station, Trichinopoly, and in those from the table-lands Secunderabad is included, and there the mortality has been as high as 82 per 1,000. "The excess at Secunderabad," writes Dr. Balfour, "has been caused chiefly by dysentery, which, during the period under review, gave rise to a higher rate of mortality, than that from all causes at the other stations on the table-lands. It has been a source of great sickness and mortality among the Europeans, ever since Secunderabad was first occupied in 1804, and committees have at different times been appointed to investigate into the causes of it, but without any satisfactory result. The unhealthy character of the station has been attributed by some medical officers to an endemical malarious condition of the atmosphere, occurring at a season when the vicissitudes of climate and the diurnal ranges of temperature are very great." But whilst the mortality at Secunderabad has ranged as high as 8 per cent., at Bangalore it has scarcely exceeded 2 per cent. On the sea coast (the Mount being included among the coast stations) the range is from 25 to 18.9 per 1,000—such being the advantage of the Mount above the Fort in point of salubrity. Masulapatam is no longer a station for European troops. In 1833 the mortality was so great—reaching as high as 313 per 1,000—that the European barracks (situated within the fort, which is only five feet above high-water mark) were abandoned. All these statistics, however interesting, lead to no satisfactory results relative to the comparative salubrity of the stations on the plains, on the high lands, and on the sea coast. Important as is sea-air as an auxiliary, it cannot make a healthy station. We were about to write "sea air alone is not enough." But sea air alone would be enough. The misfortune is that we can never get sea air alone. We get it for the most part with

certain attendant disadvantages which go far to neutralise its sanitary effects. At the stations on the Arracan coasts—Akyab and Khyook Phyoo—there is no lack of sea air; but there have been other things, hitherto too fatally against those cantonments, to allow the sea breezes to exercise their wonted salutary influence. In Major Bogle, that province found a vigorous sanitary reformer; and already have the good effects of his exertions become manifest in the increased salubrity of the Arracan stations. They have even been resorted to, in more recent times, by invalids and pleasure excursionists, careful to avoid protracted residence, and, in some instances, resolute not to sleep on shore. They are not healthy stations now; but we regard them as excellent examples of the good that may be accomplished by any able energetic public officer, determined to do his best to remedy the natural defects of an unhealthy province.

And doubtless it would be found necessary, if the re-occupation of Negrais were determined upon, to submit that station to a similar sanatory process. We are not to expect to find it a ready-made Montpelier. Some clearing and draining on the low lands are requisite to insure the salubrity even of an island so greatly favoured by Nature. It is too much our custom to settle down in a new locality, and to think of rendering it fit for occupation only after a wretched sacrifice of human life has taught us our mistake in doing that last which ought ever to be done first; but, this error avoided, we believe that in Negrais all the conditions of a first-rate sanitarium would be fulfilled; and that future generations would bless the day, when it passed again into the hands of its old owners and rightful proprietors—the British.

The island of Negrais is *de jure* the property of the East India Company. In 1757 it was ceded in perpetuity to the British by the King of Ava and Pegu. But before we enter into particulars of the cession, it may not be uninteresting to trace the fortunes of Negrais from the earliest times of European connexion with India—a task that has been so well performed by Mr. Martin, that we need do little more than submit ourselves to his guidance. The principal authorities referred to are Dalrymple and Symes, in whose works may be found many interesting particulars relative to our early settlements in Negrais.

The first European settlers on the island appear to have been the Dutch, who occupied it as early as the commencement of the seventeenth century, as an inscription found on the tomb of a Dutch colonel, who died there in 1627, seems to indicate. The English, it is probable, obtained a footing soon afterwards; but,

Harpur Institute Public Library
Accn. No. 9831 Date 23.3.76.

in consequence of a dispute between the natives and the Dutch, the settlers belonging to both the European companies were expelled from the country. The Dutch never regained their position. The English did not return to the island before 1687, when Capt. Weldon touched at Negrais, "and, having destroyed some Siamese inscriptions and huts, took possession of the island, hoisted colours, and left an inscription, on a tree, of his proceedings." This step, however, does not appear to have been followed up till some years later, when an English agent, named Hunter, was despatched from Madras to establish a factory on the island. "With the nationally characteristic indifference to matters affecting health," says Mr. Martin, "this man caused the fort to be erected *on the only unhealthy spot on the island*—a flat 'overflowed by the tides.'"

The settlement thus established does not appear to have been very prosperous. As was too often the case in those days, the settlers misconducted themselves and mismanaged the affairs of the Company. They were in a constant state of warfare with the natives; and, as may readily be supposed, were not slow, in that isolated settlement, to commit excesses characteristic of the age in which they lived. After many years of misrule and mismanagement, the affairs of the settlement were so disordered, and there appeared so little prospect of recovery, that the abandonment of the factory was projected; and on the death of the governor of the island, Mr. Roberts, at the siege of Madras, in 1746, the design was formally executed, and Negrais abandoned.

In 1751 the island was re-occupied, and six years later, after the conquest of Bengal, by Clive, a treaty was entered into with Alompra, signed and sealed at Ava on the 28th of July, 1757, by which Negrais, with a slip of ground on the opposite mainland, was formally ceded in perpetuity to the British Government. Mr. Martin, in his memoir, has printed the treaty entire. The first paragraph, after the preamble, sets forth that "the King of Ava and Pegu doth hereby for himself, his heirs and successors, freely and absolutely grant unto the said Honourable United Company and their successors, the Island of Negrais, which from henceforth for evermore they shall and may peaceably and quietly possess and enjoy, together with all benefits and advantages arising therefrom." The second paragraph relates to the cession of the "spot or tract of ground situate on the bank of Persaim River, opposite to the Pagoda hill and the old town of Persaim, of the following extent, viz.: two hundred bamboos square, each bamboo containing seven cubits, which said tract of ground the said company and their successors shall and may

henceforth, for evermore, peaceably and quietly possess and enjoy, together with all benefits and advantages arising thereby, and with full liberty to build fortifications and erect such other buildings thereon as they shall think fit." The three following clauses grant permission to the Company to trade and to employ Burmese subjects; and guarantee protection against invasion and molestation. The sixth sets forth the conditions of the tenure—the acknowledgement to be paid—"In consideration whereof the said Honourable Company do hereby promise and oblige themselves to present unto the King of Ava and Pegu, annually, one piece of ordnance to carry a twelve-pound shot, as likewise 200 viss of gunpowder, as an acknowledgment that they bear in remembrance the King's friendship in granting the said Island of Negrais, with the spot or tract of ground situate on the bank of Persaim River, as before mentioned to the said Company." The seventh paragraph grants to the King of Ava the privilege of trading with the Company's ports; the eighth includes general terms of alliance, offensive and defensive; and the ninth and last, a more particular and specific defensive alliance against the King of Tavoy. "In witness whereof I, the great King of Ava and Pegu, &c., Allaum Praw, have hereunto affixed my royal signet, this 28th day of July, 1757."

Under this treaty Captain Newton was appointed governor of Negrais; but it would seem that the war in the Carnatic soon afterwards rendered it advisable that the Company should concentrate their resources, and temporarily relieve themselves from the necessity of supporting and protecting remote and isolated settlements. In May 1759, Captain Newton was therefore recalled, and his establishment, European and native, withdrawn from the island, "having left a few persons to guard the British property and preserve the right of possession, in case it should at any future time be desirable to re-occupy the settlement." And it was not long before re-occupation was determined upon. In the following October Mr. Southby, who was despatched by the Government of Bengal to succeed Captain Newton, landed at Negrais. Two days afterwards he and all his establishment were treacherously murdered. The history of this deplorable affair we give in the words of Colonel Symes. The narrative is too interesting to call for any abridgment:—

> The tragical catastrophe that followed presents us with an instance of the sanguinary and cruel disposition that jealousy inspires, when rival interests are to be maintained by the arts of policy and fraud, rather than by open force of arms. The Armenians, the Jews of the East, a description of men subtle, faithless, and indefatigable, whose industry is usually seconded by a competent capacity, beheld with a malignant eye the progress

of European colonies, threatening the annihilation of that influence which they had supported for a long series of years, in the administration both of the Pegu and Birman Governments. Amongst these, Coja Pochas and Coja Gregory are represented to have been conspicuously active in their efforts to defeat the views and depreciate the credit of the English; the latter in particular, who had obtained a considerable office, and carried some weight in the councils of Alompra, especially in what related to strangers, as soon as the affairs of the French were ruined beyond redemption, adopted the policy of attaching to him the few Frenchmen whom Alompra had spared, in order to render them instrumental to the destruction of the English, now the favoured nation. Laveene, the youth before mentioned as having been left at Dagon by Bourno, an hostage for his fidelity, instead of falling the victim of retaliation, had been kindly treated by the conqueror, who, pleased with his appearance and vivacity, early promoted him to a commission in the guards that attended on his person. The young man is said to have imbibed the strongest prejudices of his nation against the English; and in him Coja Gregory found an apt instrument to execute his purposes

Soon after the return of Captain Newton with his party, the Government of Bengal thought proper to send Mr Southby to Negrais, to take care of the timbers and shipping materials collected there for the use of the Company, and to retain possession of the settlement. The Victoria Snow, Alves, master, was despatched on this service, with orders to convey Mr Southby to Negrais. During her passage the Snow suffered severely from a violent gale of wind. On the 5th of October she anchored in the harbour of Negrais in a very shattered and distressed condition. Happily for her, the Shaftesbury, East Indiaman, was at this time in the harbour, having put into Negrais for the purpose of procuring a supply of provisions and water.

Mr Southby disembarked on the evening of his arrival, and next day landed his letters. Antonio, the interpreter, of whom mention has already been made, came down to Negrais to meet him, and, being a man of official importance, was treated with civility and attention by Mr. Hope, at this time in the temporary charge of the settlement, as well as by Mr Southby, the new resident. The pretext for the journey was to deliver a letter to the English Chief from the King; this letter, however, was a forgery, to give plausibility to the visit, and afford an opportunity of carrying into execution the horrid plot with which he was intrusted

The address and secrecy, with which the intended massacre was concerted, gave no room for taking any precaution. Antonio, who had paid a visit to Mr. Southby on the morning of the 6th, was invited by him to dinner on the same day, at a temporary building belonging to the English. Whilst the entertainment was serving up, the treacherous guest withdrew. At that instant a number of armed Birmans rushed into the room, and put Messrs Southby and Hope to death. This transaction took place in an upper apartment. Messrs Robertson and Briggs happened to be below, with eight Europeans of inferior note. A separate attack was made on these by another set of assassins, in which five Europeans were slain; the rest, with Mr. Robertson and Mr. Briggs, shut themselves in a godown, or storehouse, where they continued on the defensive until the afternoon, when, receiving a solemn assurance that their lives should be spared, they surrendered, and experienced the utmost brutality of treatment from the murderers. Mr Briggs being wounded, and unable to move with the alertness required of him, was knocked down, and a period put to his sufferings by having a spear run through his body. The rest were escorted to the waterside, where Antonio, who had retired when the massacre commenced, was

waiting with a boat to receive them. This fellow had the humanity to unchain the prisoners, and pursued his journey with them to Dagon or Rangoon, where he expected to find the King, and doubtless to receive a reward for the meritorious part he had acted.

A midshipman of the crew of the Shaftesbury was about to enter the house when the slaughter commenced, but on hearing the cries of his countrymen, and perceiving the danger, he fled to the water-side, wounded by a spear that was cast at him in his retreat. The Shaftesbury's pinnace brought away the midshipman, with several of the black people belonging to the settlement, the fury of the murderers being indiscriminately levelled against Europeans and their Indian attendants. The long-boat also, that had brought on shore some of Mr. Southby's baggage, was fortunate enough to push off before the Birmans could get possession of her, and, letting the ensign fly with the union downwards, gave intimation to the ship, by that token, of some unexpected mischance.

The Birmans, thus becoming masters of the fortified works, and having dispersed or put to death all the settlers, turned the guns of the battery, nine in number, against the Shaftesbury. In the performance of this service, Laverne, the Frenchman, was conspicuously active; indeed, the whole of this diabolical assassination seems to have been executed under his direction. It was afterwards ascertained that, when the English were surprised and overpowered by the Birmans, this man rushed into the work at the head of a body of banditti, and completed the slaughter. The precision with which the guns were pointed sufficiently demonstrated that he who had the management was not deficient in the art of gunnery. The Shaftesbury returned the fire, but suffered considerably from that of the enemy, the second officer was killed, the running rigging damaged, and nine shot received between wind and water. Many of the Birmans are said to have fallen by the fire from the ship. The action continued till dark and was renewed next morning; on the part of the enemy. The Shaftesbury, having unmoored in the night, weighed at daylight, and dropped down with the ebb to the mouth of the river, where, beyond the range of shot, she rode secure. The Victoria Snow followed her example.

On the 14th of October, 1759, the whole story ended, and the Victoria proceeded to Madras and to proceed to Bengal. Would they were at this place [illegible] we perceived in the harbour of Negrais Captain Alves himself, and to warn her [illegible] But before the boat could reach her she had weighed with the land-wind. It appears, however, that the Birmans had by execution of some kind put an end to their own lives, and the Victoria returned to Negrais, where finding no one alive, he was shocked at the sight of the unburied and mangled bodies of his unhappy countrymen. Among these he recognised the remains of Messrs Southby, Hope, and Briggs, the leader of near one hundred natives, who had been attached to the settlement in various capacities, lay scattered around; the boats, buildings, gun-carriages, and everything combustible, were consumed, except the teak-timbers belonging to the Company, which would not easily take fire, and were too heavy to be removed. Some Birman boats appearing in sight, Captain Alves thought it most prudent to depart. He accordingly weighed anchor, and leaving the shore which had proved so fatal to his friends, prosecuted his voyage to Bengal, where he arrived on the 10th of November, 1759.

After so many proofs of a friendly disposition, the assurances given to Captain Baker, and the compact concluded with Ensign Lyster, it is reason-

able to suppose that some acts of hostility, not thoroughly explained, must have been committed, or that very plausible misrepresentations must have been used, to excite the Birman monarch to take such sanguinary revenge. That Gregory, the Armenian, was the principle instigator, is a fact, of which no native of the country, who remembers the transaction, entertains the smallest doubt, as well as that Laveene was the principal agent and instrument of execution. It is said that the former accused Mr. Hope, who commanded after the departure of Lieutenant Newton, of having supplied the Peguers with provisions, and sold to them four or five hundred muskets; that he had taken pains to instil into his Majesty's mind a persuasion that the English were a designing and dangerous people, who, having acquired Indian territory, first by fraud, and afterwards by violence, meditated the practice of similar treachery upon them, and only waited a fit opportunity to wrest from him his empire, and enslave his subjects, as they had recently done in the instance of the unsuspecting and abused Mogul. He also added that the Governor of Negrais prevented vessels from going up to Bassein, by which the royal revenue was defrauded. These arguments, whether groundless or founded, were sufficiently plausible to produce the desired effect; and there is but too much reason to think that some provocation had been given, though perhaps of a trivial nature, and certainly not sufficient to warrant a step unjustifiable by every law, human and divine.

"In 1760," says Mr. Martin, "the British Government, being in no condition to resent the recent outrage and national insult, sent Capt. Alves to seek redress as he best could, at the hands of the new king, Namdogee Praw; the Captain was bearer of letters from Mr. Holwell of Calcutta and Mr. Pigot of Madras; and altogether his reception was satisfactory. British and other European prisoners were set free, and friendly communication between the countries established," and there is in existence a state paper, addressed by Mangee Norata, Prince of Persaim, to Governor Pigot, dated November 8, 1760, wherein it is stated that the king has "granted to the British the residing place of Persaim and the island of Negrais as before;" on condition of the English Company paying the custom dues.

It appears that from this time little or nothing has been done to enforce our right of possession. On Colonel Symes's second mission to Ava in 1802, he was instructed by the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, to bear in mind our claim to Negrais. "You are apprised that the Company possesses a well-founded claim to the island of Negrais. His Excellency is of opinion that either this claim may be prosecuted, or the dereliction of it may be offered as an equivalent for some concession on the part of the Government of Ava." It does not appear, however, that Colonel Symes did more than bear all this in mind; and the Supreme Government had more momentous matters to occupy its time and engross its attention. Our eyes were turned in a different direction, and the Negrais question slept again for another quarter of a century.

On the conclusion of the Burmese war, the attention of Lord Amherst was called to Negrais and our right of possession, by Mr. Crawfurd, the Pegu commissioner, who, in May, 1826, reported upon the advantages of the island, stating that its retention as a British possession had been suggested to him from various quarters. Nothing, however, seems to have been done or contemplated during Lord Amherst's government; but three years after the treaty of Yandaboo, on the 15th of July, 1829, the subject came before the Council of India. Lord William Bentinck was then Governor-General. The cession of the Tenasserim provinces was contemplated and recommended by the home authorities; and a question arose, on the suggestion of Mr. Maingy (or, more properly speaking of the secret committee), whether the island of Negrais might not be exchanged for that territory. The Governor-General then remarked—"Mr. Maingy has judiciously suggested, as combining the object contemplated by the Court, with a suitable establishment for the refugees, the exchange of the Tenasserim provinces for Negrais, with the adjoining tract of territory of Basscin." And again—"It is possible that the Government of Ava might think the cession of Negrais to be a good exchange for a part or the whole of the remainder of their contribution or a portion of arms and ammunition, in addition to the Tenasserim provinces, might induce them to accede to our wishes." Mr. Maingy had expressed a similar opinion. "The secret committee," he said, "point out Negrais as a desirable possession. We have abundant proof of its value and importance." And then he goes on to state that the island was little more than a barren waste, and that, therefore, if, in lieu of the Tenasserim provinces, we demand only "the island of Negrais and the adjoining territories on the right bank of the Irrawaddy which form the harbour of Negrais, we should not have, I imagine, any difficulty in effecting the exchange." The opinion here expressed of the facility of obtaining the cession of the island is of a somewhat too sanguine complexion. Colonel Burney went to Ava in 1830, and exerted himself to the utmost, but to no purpose, to bring about this desirable result. Like Mr. Maingy, he was thoroughly convinced of the expediency of effecting the interchange, and was disappointed at his want of success. Seven years afterwards he wrote to Mr. Martin:—

Your scheme of taking possession of Negrais, and forming a sanatarium there, is so good that ever since the receipt of your letter, I have been turning the matter over in my mind to discover some way of persuading the Burmese to resign the island to us. But it is so contrary to the practice and feelings of the Burmese Court to relinquish voluntarily a single inch of territory, that I see no chance of obtaining its consent to our occupying

the island. The subject is not a new one to me. For several months after my first arrival here in 1830, I did all I could to negociate a cession of that island to us. The court, at that time, would not give us the island in exchange even for the whole of the Tenasserim provinces, nor for a portion of the last instalment of the Crore, which was offered to be remitted.

If we took possession of Negrais, it would soon become a second Singapore, and all the English merchants at Rangoon would remove to it. In another war with France, Negrais would prove a splendid port for our vessels of war to victual and refit in during both monsoons, and a settlement there could communicate with the seat of government at Calcutta, in about the same number of days at all seasons of the year. In Dalrymple's Oriental Repertory, you will see a good account of the advantages of forming a settlement at Negrais. How is it to be done? is the question, however; and really I cannot point out any other way than to wait patiently until the present King of Ava joins his ancestors in the *Nat* country, when, in all probability, there will be a disputed succession and a revolution here, and our aid may be solicited by the rightful heir. Whether we can avail ourselves of the cession, said to have been made by Alompra, I cannot determine, until I see the original document the King granted, which I have never done, and respecting which no Burmese history or records, that I have been able to examine, take the slightest notice. I believe, however, that after Colonel Symes's last mission to this court, in the year 1803, Lord Wellesley recorded a minute in council, in which, after examining this point, he expressed his opinion in favour of our right of occupying Negrais whenever we desired to do so. I have never seen that minute, but perhaps Mr. Macnaghten could find and show it to you. We have only to establish our right fairly to the island, and then act; and our proceeding, although it will certainly give great offence here for a time, will not, in my opinion, so far provoke this government, as to make it venture into another war with us.

(Signed) H. BURNEY.

To this important testimony may be added that of Sir Edward Owen (extracted from his Survey Reports) who, as regards the question of the value of Negrais as a naval station, is an authority of the highest character:—

NEGRAIS ISLAND.—It would have certainly great value as a place of commerce, and the great depth of water close to the shore of the N. W. side of Hingie or Negrais Island (as marked in red figures, denoting feet, at the low water of spring tides), together with the perfect shelter and smooth water between that island and the northern shore, would give great facility for constructing wharfs or slips for merchant vessels, whilst the elevation of the land in that part of the island seems to ensure a good foundation for whatever might be placed there, with a constant supply of fresh water to the wells.

NEGRAIS RIVER.—Fully according with the remarks by Captain Crawfurd, I have only to add, that the Bassein or Negrais River affords naturally one of the best positions for a naval station on the east side of the Bay of Bengal, as there would be no difficulty in establishing a dawk to Calcutta, the present one coming within 120 miles of it; and from the wind prevailing at south, and even to the eastward of it, during the S. W. monsoon, a ship would generally be able to fetch Madras at that season; nor is it less adapted for the purposes of commerce, having water to Bassein (near 60 miles above its mouth) for ships of the largest size, and for 40 miles higher up, for those

of 300 tons: its other inland water communnications are innumerable, joining the main branch of the Irawaddy in latitude about 17 deg. 40. min. north; thereby affording a direct communication to the heart of the kingdom of Ava, as well as to the city itself. The country is also well peopled and cultivated. The N. W. side of Negrais or Hingie Island where an English factory formerly stood, is steep too, and jetties or wharfs might be made without difficulty; the rise of tide being only from six to eight feet during the springs, would not admit of dry docks—heaving down quays might be built. A ship bound to the Negrais during the S. W. monsoon ought to be careful in keeping well to the southward, and to stand to the eastward of 94 deg. 6 min. east, until Diamond Island, or the high land of Hingie is seen The former is a small island covered with jungle, and so belted with rocks, that a boat can hardly land at half-tide; part of the latter is an abrupt height rising from a level plain, and might be made almost impregnable. On a reference to the chart it will be seen that a few buoys would render the entrance into the river and a spacious harbour simple, indeed, I know of no great river with so few obstructions, which may be accounted for by the tides not being so strong as is generally found in similar situations.

(Signed) E. Owen, *Commander-in-Chief.*

To the mass of evidence thus piled up nothing need be added to convince the reader of the value of such a possession. The question is, how are we to obtain it? That the island was ceded in perpetuity to the British nearly a century ago is an historical fact, not to be gainsaid. But for nations, as for individuals, there are statutes of limitation. Claims of this kind die away for want of assertion; and we are afraid that we have too long abandoned the island—too long allowed others to pick up and to retain possession of what we had thrown away, now to assert, with any great show of justice, our proprietary right to Negrais. There are things, moreover, which though very well worth possessing, may not be very well worth quarrelling for. Let our claims be what they might, it is doubtful whether any statesman would think of enforcing them at such a time as this, if the Burmese government, continuing in the same temper as described by Colonel Burney, should still resolutely resist the proposed transfer. Even Mr. Martin, with all his benevolent enthusiasm—enthusiasm which, setting in such a direction, we admire and respect—would not recommend, we are sure, that Negrais should be *wrested* from the Burmese. But it is well that the supreme government should never lose sight of the value of such an acquisition—that time and opportunity should be looked for, and when they come, every effort be made by British diplomacy to obtain the cession of the island. From time to time we may cautiously feel the pulse of the Burmese Government; and ever watchful for an occasion to introduce the subject with success, endeavour to effect by peaceable negotiation, what might be too dearly pur-

chased by having recourse to arms. Circumstances might arise, it is true, to compel us to abandon all our scruples, and promptly to re-possess ourselves of "our ancient settlement," to keep it from falling into other European hands; but, although we have heard that in this light the subject has been recently considered by Lord Palmerston, and although Mr. Martin in the memoir before us expresses a significant "hope" that our sense of the advantages of the station "may not be whetted by the establishment of an alien power to injure interests till then disregarded by us, and even to rival our authority by erecting a permanent settlement in a country so contiguous to the chief nursery of our revenue and the capital of our possessions," we cannot say that we are apprehensive of any such crisis arising. Mr. Martin refers, in explanation of his doubt, to the past history of the French in the Indian seas, "This is not a matter of speculation," he says, "for it is well known that the superior advantages of the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal, in a political, commercial, and naval sense, were very early in the late war duly estimated by those against whom it was most incumbent on us to guard—the French; and the declared opinion of M. Suffrein is well worthy of consideration, that Pegu was the country through which the English might be attacked in India with the most success. He well knew the value of Negrais, the most secure harbour in the bay, whence the French cruisers issued forth in safety at all seasons to capture our merchant ships driven at random from Cape Comorin to the Ganges, along the whole extent of which coast there is not one safe harbour for a vessel of 500 tons burthen, during either monsoon." That the French have known, and perhaps do still know, the value of such a station as Negrais, we do not doubt. It is known indeed that the French Government has recently directed its attention to the consideration of the causes of its declining influence in the East; but we may question whether there is any inclination at the present time, in the Republic, to try conclusions with us in the Bay of Bengal.

Apart from the sanatory bearing of the question, the case may be thus briefly stated, in the language of Mr. Martin—"The naval, military, and political advantages of Negrais are no less conspicuous than the commercial. As a port of safety and convenience it has no equal for naval purposes, whilst its occupation by the British would effectually secure to us the entire commerce of Burmah and the adjoining countries—place at our command the supply of grain to Upper Ava and Pegu; and thus, as well as by having our garrisons at the mouths of their

great rivers, we should for ever padlock the military energies of the Burmese, and that without cost or trouble to ourselves." We might almost wish that this were less true. The fact last stated, we are afraid, may be sufficiently patent to the understanding of the Burmese Government, to present a formidable obstacle to the success of any negotiations we might initiate for the cession of the island. For our own parts, we would rather that, as regards at least our relations with Ava, the transfer of Negrais to our hands were no political or military gain. We should be content to think of our shipping our commerce, and the establishment of a sanatarium. The less there is to excite the jealousy and the apprehensions of our neighbours, the better. We must not, at all events, let them think that, in endeavouring to obtain possession of Negrais, we are about "to padlock their military energies."

Whatever mistake may have been committed, in not obtaining after the Burmese war the cession of Negrais, we are not in the position, we then were, to dictate to the Court of Ava, and must now effect our object by adroit management, not by the utterance of an imperious fiat. Our object has been simply to demonstrate, with Mr. Martin's assistance, the various advantages that would accrue to us from the possession of Negrais Island, and more especially its sanatory advantages. We have regarded it less as a padlock for the Burmese, than as a convalescent depôt for the sick of Calcutta and Madras. It is principally in that view of the case that our sympathies have been enlisted, and our advocacy secured. Unwilling that the value of Negrais should be lost sight of, even in these stirring times, when the eyes of men are turned in a totally opposite direction, we have put on record, in a form readily available for future reference, much, if not all, that is known relative to the past history and natural advantages of the island. The time may come when such a compendium will be of use. We can patiently abide it.

ART. II.—1. *Mitchell's Australian Expeditions.* 2 *vols.* 1839.
2. *Narrative of a visit to the Australian Colonies, by J. Backhouse.* 1843.
3. *Narrative of an Expedition into Central Australia in* 1844-5-6, *by Captain Sturt. London.* 1849.
4. *Twelve years in the British Colonies from* 1835 *to* 1847, *by J. Byrne. London.* 1848.
5. *Australia, its history and present condition, by the Rev. W. Pridden. London.* 1843.
6. *Enterprise in Tropical Australia, by G. Earl.* 1846.
7. *Burton on Religion and Education in New South Wales.*

THE question may be asked, why should the *Calcutta Review* enter on the subject of Australia, as its special field has hitherto been India? We have only to reply, that we hope bye and bye to take up the question of the great Eastern Archipelago. Our motto is "usque Gangem *et Auroram.*" Australia has been a favorite resort of many of our Indian invalids, and would have been still more so, had there been more facilities of visiting it, or were it as accessible as the Cape. And such a time is at hand. Steam communication from Singapore to Sydney, which is to commence next September, will bring India, Australia, the Spanish and Dutch settlements with the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, into close juxta-position; and exhibit the magnificent prospect of the extension of the Anglo-Saxon race, at once in the regions of the Punjab, and amid the bush of Australia. While, in the North of Asia, Russia, the pioneer of civilization and the friend of commerce, holds her protecting ægis over those tribes who have been so long the victims of ruthless chiefs;—in the South, we observe the influence of the English stretching, through the centre afforded by Australia, on the one side, to New Zealand and the islands which stud the Pacific, and, on the other, to those islands, of the Indian seas, once a chain of sub-marine volcanos, which now afford a field of action to the myriads of the Malay race.

In comparing the condition and history of New South Wales and Northern India, various points of comparison present themselves:—such, for instance, as—the state of the aborigines of this country and Australia, and the incorrect notions entertained by Europeans generally of both; life in the bush among the Squatters, and life in the Mofussil among Indigo Planters; Governor Philip's choice of Sydney, and Job Charnock's of

Calcutta; Emancipists and East Indians, and the local prejudices against *every* individual of both, arising from the hateful caste feeling; swindling in Sydney, and mercantile frauds in Calcutta; the opposition to Sydney centralisation by Port Philip, and to Calcutta or "Ditch ascendancy" by the people of the N. W. Provinces; and the improvement in morals in both, owing, in no slight degree, to the diminished use of ardent spirits, and the increase in the number of virtuous, intelligent females. Those, with various other data, suggest many reflections; but we shall confine our attention in this article to a simple detail of facts, illustrating the condition of New South Wales, and confirmed by our own personal observations.

Although a number of books have been written, descriptive of the Colony of New South Wales, yet few of them convey any thing like a true and faithful account of that territory. Most of these productions appear to have been got up by parties, so connected with the country, that their success in life in a great measure depended on inducing emigrants (especially those having capital) to proceed thither; and, with such an object in view, the books hitherto published may be expected, more or less, to contain one-sided views, giving no true picture of the real state of the colony. We shall therefore endeavour to give a plain unvarnished account of the state of New South Wales, in that most remarkable period of its history, from its days of *apparent* prosperity early in 1840, to those of ruin in 1844.

The approach to Sydney is striking. Through a narrow opening in the savage and iron bound coast, barren, desolate and monotonous, you glide at once into a scene of beauty and animation, perhaps unrivalled in the world. The sail from the Heads—two promontories bounding the entrance to Sydney Cove, is certainly most beautiful, extending about seven miles into the interior, with rich deep water, land locked on every side, forming numerous bays, and studded with islets—each more romantic than another, and all of them crowned with villas, and covered with wood. We can conceive nothing finer than the harbour of Sydney, whether we consider its extent, depth of water, safety, or natural beauty.

George Street, a street upwards of two miles long, is the main artery of Sydney. It has many good houses; and certainly, if one considers that little more than fifty years have elapsed since we took possession of the colony, the mere extent is truly wonderful. Not that it is one continued succession of houses the whole way; there are sundry blanks, especially towards each extremity. Steep lanes run up from the right hand of George Street to a very high and disreputable part of the town, called

the Rocks, being a number of low houses, built on that rocky mountain of granite which terminates so abruptly at Fort street. On the left hand, at this part of the street, the bay or harbour runs along side the back part, bounded by a line of wharfs. As you advance, the beauty of the street is much injured by a very long wall, enclosing the military barracks, so that the houses here only run up the left side. However, after passing the barrack wall, you have continuous and elegant buildings on both sides of the way. Such is George Street. Several shorter streets cross it, and a few run parallel to it; but they are all second rate.

Nothing strikes one in them all, more than the want of public buildings, especially in a town where private enterprize has done so much. There is *no* public building that appears to a stranger as of any consequence, except the new Government House. There are no doubt several Churches, but except one or two in the course of erection, they are conspicuous only for uglincss.

There is a large clumsy building in Hyde Park, called Hyde Park Barracks, which is entirely occupied by convicts and the necessary offices of the principal superintendent.

The old court houses were very poor affairs; but a new court house, gaol, and military barracks have been lately erected in the suburb of Wulumulu.

The college in Hyde Park, called "Sydney College," has a cold and unfinished appearance. Dr. Lang has also a school or college in Jamieson Street, but of no architectural pretension. Perhaps the most noticeable architectural feature of the town is the market place,—a remarkably extensive and well finished building, situated near the Police office in George Street. It runs in two parallel lines, and contains divisions for meat, fruit, vegetables, poultry, and fish, all as neatly arranged as in Hungerford Market, and equally well furnished. Indeed the fruit market is even superior, from the great quantity of grapes, peaches, green gages, oranges, &c., temptingly exhibited.

One very great inconvenience in Sydney is the wretched way in which the streets are paved. Most of them have no kind of pavement at all, and even in George Street, the stones are in many cases so broken or sunk, that in rain you generally, at night, prefer the centre of the street, to avoid plunging into holes filled with water. In the upper part of the street you may be thankful if you can get along without tumbling down into some dreadful pit, out of which stone has been taken for building purposes, and the vacancy neither filled up nor enclosed.

Another monstrous nuisance is the non-drainage of the town,

which is as bad in this respect as Calcutta. Indeed the *only* drain is an *open* one, running into the cove, and intersecting the principal street entrance from George Street to Government House. The effluvia arising are very offensive.

The dust is another annoyance in which we may have a common feeling with our fellow-sufferers in Sydney. From the general dry weather, and the sandy soil which surrounds the city, the dust is constantly blowing in masses, so that it is impossible to keep the clothes free of dust; and you may be thankful if you can keep your mouths and eyes clean. Indeed when a wind, called a "*Brickfielder*" happens to arise (and these winds are pretty frequent,) you are not only blinded with the dust, but the round hard particles of sand hit with such force upon the face as to be absolutely painful.

In 1840, the expense of living at Sydney was very great. Beef and mutton, bread, milk, firewood, water, as well as groceries and all goods imported, were very dear; and flour was £55 per ton. House rent was most excessive. A mere cottage of a few rooms built of wood, which in England would not bring £20 a year, was let for £120. New houses in Lyon's Terrace, Hyde Park, were rented at £500 a year. Shop rents were equally high, readily yielding in George Street from £500 to £600 per annum.

At this time expense seemed to be an object of no consequence with the inhabitants. Money was so plentiful, and so easily obtained, that the price of any article was no bar to its possession. In carriages alone, the invoice price of the number imported into New South Wales, *in one year*, exceeded £300,000. As may be supposed, some of the persons in these carriages were rather of equivocal aspect. We recollect being struck by seeing two persons very gaily dressed (a man and woman,) driving up George Street in an open carriage with an air of great dignity, and deliberately stopping at a public house, into which the man went, and brought out a glass of gin to the *fine lady* left in the carriage at the door. Such people will no doubt be found in all places, and we do not mean to state that these persons composed the general class of the inhabitants. On the contrary, the appearance of society was surprisingly respectable; but it was a very heartless society,—in its most harmless phase exhibiting chiefly the mere pride of life and boundless ostentation.

The inhospitality of Sydney to strangers was quite proverbial. Even persons of great respectability, who brought the strongest

letters of introduction, were seldom invited to dinner.* In the case of an individual, who arrived with capital, the matter was somewhat different; but then the civility was confined to the interested blandishments of one or two stockholders, ardently desirous to assist the stranger in the disposal of his money, by transferring it to their own pockets.

At the same time with this selfish and niggardly spirit, the most lavish extravagance was going on. Not to speak of the carriages, the dress, and the house rent,—in every article within the dwellings of even ordinary people, the most reckless expenditure was practised. Many persons, who in England had never been accustomed to drink any thing but draft ale and porter, now could drink nothing under claret and champaigne; and parties were given merely to exhibit the finery of the host and hostess. If the mere rent of a shop-keeper's *villa* and shop nearly amounted to £1,000 a year, another £1,000 would be a small allowance for house-keeping: and how £2,000 a year was to be made *honestly*, even with the high prices given in 1840, is a matter we cannot pretend to explain. Such a system of course was one of the causes which brought the colony to ruin.

One of the chief luxuries of Sydney is sea-bathing. In a very beautiful bay, opposite Wulumulu, there were very good floating baths; and in a fine morning nothing could be more pleasant than a swim in the bay. Close to these baths, and all round the various bays in the neighbourhood of Sydney, there are delightful walks. There can be nothing finer than to walk along the edge of the water, following all its windings, promontories, and rising grounds, observing the ships and boats skimming about in this lovely harbour, guarded on all sides by beautifully sloping banks, and surrounded by wood and wild flowers.

In the midst of these slopes lie the Botanical Gardens. These are very beautiful gardens, possessing a great variety of Indian, South Sea, and Norfolk Island plants, with the native and imported plants of New South Wales. In the upper garden there is a good vineyard; and in the lower part, which gradually sinks into the water, minute waves sparkle and break against a grassy embankment, and a very great variety of flowers, tastefully laid out, delights the eye. These gardens are not above

* We knew, for instance, a clergyman of the Church of England, appointed to a charge at Sydney, who was left for months in a lodging house, without a visit or an invitation, except to an official breakfast, from any one of his brethren.

ten minutes' walk from the town, and form altogether a most agreeable resort.

On a promontory of the same bay stands the new Government House. This is certainly a fine building. Its local position is excellent, and the style of the architecture is in good keeping with the surrounding scenery. It has the appearance of a palace in the castellated style with admirably executed turrets, and is built entirely of splendid white granite.

The Government Domain adjoins the new Government House, and consists of very pretty lawns running from the water to the top of the rising ground on which the upper part of the town is built. At the extreme end of the domain, and about half way up the slope, stands the old Government House, which is merely an extended line of building in the cottage style, having a neat appearance from the outside. It possesses some handsome rooms; and is a very pleasant residence from its position; but it has nothing commanding, or in keeping with the purpose to which it was applied. In its early days it was, no doubt, thought very handsome; but things were then conducted on a very free and easy sort of a scale. It is said, that when the officers of the old N. S. Fencibles were invited to dine at Government House, they were requested to bring their own bread with them, as these were days of scarcity from the extravagant price of flour; and that they arrived accordingly, each with a loaf stuck on the point of his sword.

From all parts of the town, and surrounding country, the appearance of the shipping in the harbour is very fine. Not only are there ships close to the various wharfs discharging and loading, but a great number lie out in the various bays forming the harbour; and these bays are constantly gay with sailing boats, small yachts, and rowing boats plying about in all directions.

The suburbs of Sydney are not remarkable for beauty: but as you proceed into the country, and all along the bays, there are many beautiful houses and gardens, especially on the opposite shore,—where there is a large suburb called the North Shore, which is a series of villas embosomed in wood, each commanding charming views of the town, the cove, and the shipping.

Towards the North, the nearest town to Sydney, at the mouth of the Hunter, is New Castle, a very dreary and cold looking place. It has a peculiarly bleak appearance from the quantity of drifting sand surrounding the town, and the bare rocks of the sea-coast. It possesses a gaol, the only one for the whole district of the Hunter, new military barracks, and a very neat Police office. The town itself though a port, has very little

trade, and wants even the bustle which would be given to it by steamers discharging, as almost all the passengers and the goods for the settlers up the whole country as far as New England, go on to Morpeth, by which some twenty miles of land carriage is saved. At New Castle the Australian Agricultural Company have a valuable coal mine, which is worked here, and the coals sent to Sydney and elsewhere. This company appears to have a complete monopoly of the coal trade,—not only from their obtaining a grant of land of a *million* of acres, but because in their charter, there is a clause binding the Government of New South Wales to prevent the working of any other mine within the colony.

Higher up, the river narrows, and the banks are so thickly wooded, that it seems impossible to penetrate inland, and as dull and quiet as if the country was unoccupied. An oppressive silence prevails. There is no noise from animals, and no singing from the birds. A dreary chirp, or whistle may be heard every now and then, but this makes the solitude of the place the more apparent. Occasionally a spot of cleared land with its solitary hut or house may be seen; and, further on, a township named Raymond Terrace, where several houses have been erected, and a wharf, from which coals can be embarked. Morpeth is an insignificant place, with some green hills in its neighbourhood. It has a Church; and coaches run from it, (if they can be so named) being open boxes, like small London pleasure vans, shut in with curtains.

Beyond Morpeth is Maitland, the second town in the colony,—a long straggling place, nearly three miles in extent, and including two towns, called East and West Maitland. East Maitland is decidedly the place where the town should have been entirely built, both from its local advantages in possessing elevated ground, and from being the place where the Court-House is situated, and where the Police magistrate resides. Had all the dwellings been properly arranged in this locality, instead of being stretched out along the road side for three miles, a very compact and important inland town would have been formed, and business would have been conducted in a much more convenient way. Altogether it is a very gay and bustling place.

After leaving Maitland and the cleared ground in its vicinity, you have fairly entered the bush, and nothing is to be seen but forests of endless length. The chief object worthy of notice, in this part of the colony, is Mount Wingen, the only burning mountain yet discovered in New South Wales. It is of no great extent, the flames issuing from several small fissures, particularly from a very narrow opening about thirty feet long, and flicker-

ing in the sun-shine about a foot high. There is evidently much combustion underneath; and here and there you see a deep recess which has burned out. The progress of the fire has been very slow, and the area of the whole burning surface does not exceed half a mile. It has a sulphureous smell, and a singularly strange and wild appearance.

The wilderness and the bush naturally lead us to speak of the bushrangers, many of whose deeds remind us of scenes which occurred in the district of Krishnagur in the days of Mr. Blacquiere.

Bushrangers are runaway convicts. Very often these men are driven to take the bush from the cruel and over-bearing conduct of their masters; although, we admit, that they are generally the worst disposed of their class, who, being often punished for their neglect of duty, are thus rendered hardened and desperate. But whatever cause may have driven them to the bush, their life there is a very miserable one,—always in dread of being taken, unable to trust their comrades, and often dying of starvation among the caves and distant mountain ranges, where they hide themselves. Sooner or later too they are almost sure to be taken, and in most instances to be hung.

In 1840, a very famous gang of bushrangers, called Davies's gang, from their leader, Davies, a Jew, completely took possession of the Hunter districts. They robbed over a range of 3 or 400 miles, and were heard of, at so many different spots, committing depredations about the same time, that no one knew whether the gang was in the immediate neighbourhood, or several hundred miles away. So great was the terror they inspired, that travelling along the road was very much given up. Eventually six of these bushrangers were hung in Sydney. But even this severe example only kept bushranging in check in the Hunter districts for a short time.

A man, named Wilson, then took the lead, and became notorious. He was said to be the natural son of a lately deceased Scotch nobleman. He was originally a native of London, where he had been well educated; but falling into bad company, and thence into crime, he was sent to Sydney as a convict. On his arrival, he was assigned to a kind and lenient master. This gentleman however had a convict overseer, a flash low fellow, who went by the name of "Captain Rock;" and Wilson, having disobeyed some order of this man, to avoid punishment, took to the bush.

For upwards of two years did this man continue to rob passengers and drays with perfect impunity: but, as he never attempted to injure any one, he was exceedingly well liked, especi-

ally by the assigned convicts, who gave him information of all that was going on. Besides, being perfectly acquainted with the broken country he had chosen for his habitation, he used to lie on the top of the mountains near Murrurundi, from which he could see the direction in which the Police went in search of him, and thus easily avoid them. In all his robberies (and they were not few) he never used any violence, but always came up to the traveller, well armed, and demanded his money. This demand was generally complied with; and Wilson carried his civility so far, that if the traveller had some keep-sake of value with him, which he did not wish to part with, it was often left with him. From his coolness, and from calculating his time and place so well in effecting his robberies, he might never have been taken, at least not for a long course of years, had he not joined himself to a companion named Forrester,—a tall powerful man, but a cowardly fellow, with none of Wilson's cleverness. Shortly afterwards a third man joined them; and, being well mounted and armed, they became dangerous and formidable, more especially as Forrester was a rash reckless man, with little or no command, either over his temper or his gun.

About the end of 1842, a Mr. Bigge and his people were driving horses near the Peel river, on their way to Moreton bay, when they were stopped by Wilson's gang. Mr. Bigge, (a brave resolute man), offered resistance; and Forrester fired at him, and missed him. Wilson then fired, and wounded Mr. Bigge severely on the upper part of the shoulder, the ball grazing the shoulder blade, and going within a hair's breadth of a dangerous artery. Mr. Bigge again fired at Forrester; but his servants having disappeared, and there being three armed men to one, he yielded; and the bushrangers, without doing him any further injury, decamped. Wilson was taken some weeks afterwards by the mounted police, who came unexpectedly upon the bushrangers as they lay encamped in the bed of a creek during the night, beside a fire, which had attracted the attention of the police. Both he and Forrester, who was apprehended some weeks afterwards, were hung for the offence. The third was never afterwards seen or heard of.

Davies's and Wilson's gangs were the principal bushrangers, although many others appear now and then. There were likewise numerous robberies of drays proceeding up to the distant stations, which were not effected by the *regular* bushrangers, but by the assigned servants in collusion with the bullock-drivers, who made a pretended attack of bushrangers, an excellent excuse for drinking their master's wine and spirits, and distributing the property, entrusted to their care, among their fellow-convicts.

The constant annoyance from bushrangers renders the country a most unpleasant place to live in; for, although they do not often attack a dwelling-house, yet it is most inconvenient for settlers, especially those at the most distant stations, to have their drays robbed, and the supplies, laid in at much expense, suddenly taken from them, just when they may be completely out of the necessary articles of life. Again it is most uncomfortable to think, that you cannot travel without being liable constantly to fall in with these villains, who may deprive you of your horse, your money, and even your clothes, leaving you stripped of every thing, to make your way home in the best mode you can.

It cannot be denied that there was generally too little opposition to the demands of the robber on the part of the settler. It was certainly humiliating to see one or two men bring in half a dozen mounted gentlemen from the road side into the bush, one by one, tie them up, and rob them without their making the slightest resistance. In fact it was this want of spirit which gave encouragement to bushranging, and rendered it a safe and idle life for those who would not work.

Another evil which the colonists have to endure—and one even of greater extent in its ramification than that of bushranging—is the system of cattle-stealing, which is practised all over the country. Various circumstances combine to render the stealing of cattle and horses an offence very easy to commit, and very difficult to detect. There is the large space occupied by cattle running loose in distant parts of the colony, the fact that the owners cannot see them so as to identify them for years, the great price sometimes given for cattle, the collusion between the butcher and seller, the former not being particular from whom he purchases, if he can only purchase cheaply, the easiness and rapidity with which brands are defaced, and above all the readiness with which a person, so disposed, can gather a set of discarded convict stock men, who, for a share in the plunder, will immediately join any set of cattle-stealers.

There are vast (almost incredible) numbers of cattle now astray in the bush. Most of these are becoming wild from their never seeing a human being,—much less being handled or brought into stock-yards; and, as they breed among themselves, the whole country will, no doubt, in the course of time, be over-run with wild cattle. This gives an additional impetus to cattle-stealing. For in these distant runs—away from all stations, and in broken and mountainous ground,—nothing can be more easy, than for a few stock men to encamp, and take the least wild of the cattle into a temporary yard, and, after placing a brand upon them, drive them away to market. No one can possibly identify

the cattle, and, as they are generally fat, having an unlimited range of pasture, they bring a good price.*

The country about Bathurst used to be the great cattle-stealing district; and there was a kind of co-partnership kept up between two sets of cattle-stealers, one at Bathurst, and the other at Liverpool plains.

The great check, which cattle-stealing latterly received, was from the low price given. It became not worth the trouble involved, to say nothing of the risk. But we are convinced, that, whenever a fair price is given for stock, cattle and horse-stealing will always more or less prevail in New South Wales; and we do not see how, by any vigilance, it is to be prevented.

It will be naturally expected that we should say something of the transportation system, especially in so far as it relates to the assigning convicts as servants to the settlers. Reserving for another article the great question of free or convict labour, there can be no doubt, that, whatever its merits or demerits may be, the sudden cessation of the assignment system was one of the principal causes of the temporary ruin of the colony. The non-assignment plan at once struck a blow (by entailing an immediate outlay in the shape of wages to free servants of £500,000 *per annum*,) which no young colony could stand. The immediate and constant payment of wages to the men, who supplied the places of the convicts, was an immediate drain upon the profits of sheep farming, to such an extent, as to render that mode of living, the principal one in the colony, a system of no profit, or rather of absolute loss, as it afterwards turned out. Besides it

* One individual is known to have carried on this system on a large scale, and for many months undiscovered. He was the son of an English officer, and having failed in business, he took up an inn at Murrurundi, and, gathering about him a great number of disreputable characters, he carried on a regular system of cattle stealing at a hidden station in the mountains. His villany was at last discovered by accident. About twenty head of cattle had been seized by the Police at Maitland at a butcher's, under the suspicion that they were stolen cattle with defaced brands, when this inn-keeper whose name was Atkinson, now again a bankrupt, came forward to the Magistrate, stating that he had purchased them from a man named Schofield. It so happened, that Schofield himself was in the lock-up at the same time, under a charge of cattle stealing; and there being strong ground to suspect, that these cattle were originally drafted from the hidden station in the mountains, a party of Police was dispatched, *with Schofield's horse to lead the way through the defiles of the mountains*, in order to discover the station. After giving the horse his head, and meandering through a most rugged and wild country for many miles, the Police at last came upon the station. The parties, having heard of Atkinson's apprehension, had all escaped, leaving behind them a very good hut, with an excellent four-railed stock-yard, capable of containing several hundred head of cattle. There were recent marks of its being occupied. The yard was filled with fresh manure, and outside lay *a large heap of bones of horses half consumed.* These people had been in the habit of destroying the mares, and keeping the foals only! If the mothers had been kept, there would have been a possibility of tracing them; but there was none after the mares had been destroyed. The unbranded foals were then branded with a fictitious brand, and in a few months sold as young stock.

was attended with other disadvantages. The system of assignment ceased on a given day. The whole future supply of convict labour became at once stopped, and there was nothing to supply its place. Emigration was only a partial supply, not at all equal to the sudden demand made upon it. The consequence was, that wages advanced with the limited supply, and settlers were even compelled to restrain their exertions, from the want of labourers. Another great disadvantage was the kind of labourers supplied. The emigrant in many cases was an ignorant, lazy person, totally unacquainted with country pursuits, and quite unsuited to the wants of the colonists. The convicts, on the other hand, were generally powerful men, and often very clever fellows; and, though great rogues, yet the severe corporal punishment, which hung over their heads, had a wonderful effect in keeping them to their duty: whereas the master had no mode of compelling the emigrants to perform their work, and in many cases they were totally useless.

The convict population, in a moral point of view, is certainly a great draw-back to the colony; and to be doomed to live and die in a land of felons is a very painful and disheartening idea. The general character of convicts is as bad as can well be imagined; they are full of deception and vice; no kindness can make any lasting impression upon them; when you are kind to them, they immediately think it arises from some merit of their own, and they are sure to turn it against you. They will rob you before your face, and, when out of sight, will do nothing.* The best mode of treating them is to give them all their dues, (and no one is better acquainted with what he is legally entitled to from his master than the convict) and at the same time to enforce the regular performance of all the work required of them.

Convicts are divided into three classes, the bond, the ticket of leave-holders, and the emancipists or ex-convicts. The bond are either in Government employment, in assigned service, or in road gangs. Those in Government employment are mostly kept at Sydney on the Government works, and live in Hyde Park barracks. They are mustered every morning under overseers, and dispatched about sun-rise, in bodies marching two

* This condemnation is perhaps too sweeping, and yet might be extended to servants of honester repute. Convicts generally must be bad and wicked men. But a bad man may be susceptible of gratitude, fidelity, and attachment. And instances of such are to be found, not largely, but in a fair proportion, amongst convicts whose masters treat them with kindness and firmness, as misguided, but reasonable and immortal fellow-creatures. A true answer to the question, What made these men convicts? might perhaps lead to conclusions little flattering to those, who are not convicts.—Ed.

by two, to the different localities, where their work is going on. They generally carry their food with them, and in the evening are marched back again to the barracks in the same order. The convicts in assigned service are under certain regulations: but so much depends upon the character and disposition of the master, that the convict finds his assignment, a punishment or a reward, just as the master's natural disposition leads him to treat his assigned men.

When they behave so well, either in Government employment or private service, as not to be punished at all, convicts for life are entitled to *a ticket of leave,* after eight years' service; convicts, for fourteen years, after six years,'—and convicts for seven years, after four years' service. It is therefore a system of rewards, and punishments. These tickets may be granted for any district except Sydney, and the holders must remain in the district chosen, working for their living like free men, and conforming to the rules set forth in the regulations. One of these rules, now abolished, was a quarterly attendance at the Police Office, there to be inspected by the Police Magistrate of the district, and to give an account of their mode of living, producing their tickets, which the Magistrate marked as having been mustered. This personal quarterly attendance is now done away with; and the ticket of leave-holders are only obliged to muster once a year; which may be done either by reporting themselves to the clerk of the bench, or by their employers writing a letter, to inform the bench that the men are in their service. Every punishment a convict receives, puts him back one year in obtaining his ticket; and those ticket of leave-holders, who commit a fault, lose their tickets, and are returned to Government service. But if these men are not punished, and hold their tickets for six years, they are entitled to petition the Governor for *a conditional pardon.* This restores them to all the advantages of a free person, except that they cannot leave the colony.

It is a great mistake that convicts, on their arrival, are not classified according to their offences. As it is, the most ferocious murderer, and the comparatively innocent man, transported for some petty political or military offence, are classed together; and, what is worse, may be assigned into the same private service. Again the plan of assigning them as domestic servants in Sydney was bad. Here a felon, who just escaped the gallows, is assigned to a Sydney gentleman, gets into gay living, and is seen walking about, as unconcerned and happy, as if he had arrived with the most unblemished character and the highest recommendations. Another fault in the system was

allowing men to be assigned to their own wives. Nothing was more common than (in the case of bank robbery, &c.) for the husband to be transported, leaving the wife to follow with the plunder, and on her arrival to get assigned to his wife, when they lived comfortably on the profit of their villainy.

The ticket of leave-convict is generally a well behaved man, his ticket depending on his good conduct. They form the best shepherds and general servants to be found.

The emancipists are of a very mixed character. Generally speaking, the short sentenced men of seven years, when they become free, especially those who had never held a ticket, are found to be the most uncivil and worst conducted men in the colony. They have been kept in check during their bondage by the fear of corporal punishment; and, whenever that is removed, they break out into all the unrestrained viciousness of their natural disposition. Others again, from the class who have long held their tickets, are well behaved, industrious men; and, having accumulated some wealth, they generally continue to work hard, and from small settlers at last arrive at the height of their ambition—that of becoming considerable stockholders.

The quantity of work which the convicts have done in the colony, whether in assigned service, in hired service, or on their own account, is most surprizing. The mere labour of cutting down, burning off, and stumping, the numerous paddocks now under cultivation is no small matter. The almost incredible amount of fenced land in the colony, and the numerous houses, stockyards, huts, wells, &c., all done by convict labour, prove most abundantly, that the early settlers were no idlers, and knew well how to work their convict servants. At that time the masters were entitled to make the convict do two rods of fencing each day; and the general rule was, that whatever they performed beyond that, was paid for in extra indulgences.

The female convicts are generally worse behaved than the males. The system of keeping them locked up in a factory at Sydney, almost (till lately) in utter idleness, is certainly one very much to be condemned. In a country, where the disparity of the sexes is so great, it certainly would be advantageous to the colony, and likewise to the unhappy women themselves, to assign them to masters as far in the interior as possible, and never in Sydney. The keeping of these depraved women together only renders them more depraved; and, as there is no mode of punishing them but returning them to the factory,—that, instead of being a punishment, is a boon held out for bad behaviour. For they prefer much being together with their wicked compani-

ons to being in the interior at a solitary farm, and with a regular family.

Upon the whole, it seems very doubtful, whether transportation to New South Wales be any punishment to *the felon*. He arrives in a most delightful climate, and, as the chances are, he may be assigned to a kind and reasonable master; he at once obtains good food in abundance, with clothing and lodging, for his labour; and in time he secures for himself independence. How many thousands in England, able and willing to work, might envy such a fate!

Much has been written for and against transportation, as a secondary punishment. The Archbishop of Dublin wrote a pamphlet condemning it, which was answered by Sir George Arthur. The present Bishop of Australia, defending the System, says:—

> After all that has been or can be said, I must return to my original assertion, that transportation has been too hastily decreed and condemned. It reforms as many, I believe, as any other mode of secondary punishment could reform; and they who are not improved in morals, become less dangerous, than if they had remained at home. Punishments more formidable may undoubtedly be devised, but then they could not be equally cheap, corrective, or humane, and consequently their adoption is out of the question. In the present state of the country, I am satisfied transportation cannot be dispensed with; and should the legislature try the experiment, after stocking, and over-stocking as many penitentiaries as can be built, they will be at last compelled again to have recourse to penal colonies.

Notwithstanding this high authority, we cannot agree with the Bishop. The object of all punishment is to deter from crime; and we maintain, that when the class in England, from which convicts spring, are aware of the advantages enjoyed by their convicted brethren, they will naturally long to commit some crime, which may send them to so desirable a country.

In point of morals, we cannot see that there is at present much improvement in the colony. It will take a long series of years before the old leaven of felony can evaporate, if it ever disappears; and besides, the class of emigrants sent out were but little calculated to improve the old hands. On the contrary, being principally Irish labourers, ignorant and easily led, they were speedily corrupted by the convicts. In many cases this was not a difficult task; for more than half the lesson in vice had been learned at home, and the remainder was taken up with wonderful alacrity.

The whole question of emigration is a fertile theme for discussion; for with it is mixed up the question of Government land sales, as it was from their produce that emigration was carried on. We have already spoken of the general character of the emigrants sent out. What else indeed could be expected from the system

as managed by Mr. Marshall? who, being paid a fee of 20*s.* per head for every emigrant shipped, could not be expected to enquire over minutely into the previous history and habits of the emigrant. From the General Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners of 1843, we find that the total amount of emigration into New South Wales, during a period of five years and a half, up to its temporary cessation about the middle of 1842, was thus:

	Immigrants assisted.	*Immigrants unassisted.*	*Total.*
1837	2,664	871	3,535
1838	6,102	1,478	7,580
1839	8,416	2,952	11,368
1840	5,696	1,840	7,536
1841	19,523	3,677	23,200
1842	5,807	1,217	7,024
	48 208	12,035	60,243

The bringing out of so very large a body of immigrants to so distant a colony was accomplished entirely by the produce of the sales of Government lands. But here again, as if every thing was to combine for the downfall of the colony, another grand mistake was committed. The price of land was raised by the Home Government from 5 to 20 shillings per acre; the consequence of which absurdity was, that the sale of Government land totally ceased, and of course emigration was at an end. This took place at the same moment with the ceasing of transportation; so that both these tremendous blows took place at once, and fairly levelled the colony with the dust.

The emigration commissioners in their report very graphically state,—

In this colony we regret to have to notice an extraordinary falling off in the receipts from sales of land. This branch of revenue, which in 1840 amounted to £317,251, decreased in 1841 to £93,538, and in 1842 only reached the sum of £19,444. The following is a comparative statement of the receipts and number of acres sold in the three years:—

	1840.		1841.		1842.	
	Acres.	£	Acres.	£	Acres.	£
Sydney	105,900	99,231	19,546	21,923	7,711	13,405
Port Phillip	83,887	218,020	66,230	71,615	2,962	6,039
Total...	189,787	317,251	85,776	93,538	10,673	19,444

The commissioners most inconclusively argue, that this de-

crease arose from the general depression in the colony, because the Act of Parliament, raising the price to 20 shillings per acre, not having passed till July, 1842, could not possibly have reached the colony till the end of the year. But it was well known in the colony, when the first rise in the price from 5 to 12 took place, that in a very short time the price would be 20; and so preposterous and absurd did such a plan appear to the public, that the very hint of such a proceeding almost stopped the sales. The actual arrival of the Act of Parliament completely effected that purpose. We are not sure that the price alone (though in many places the land was not worth *6d.* per acre,) could have effected this purpose, had the supply of labour been continued. Many purchases were made for the mere object of procuring the men assigned with the land to the purchaser; but when there was no assignment, the only motive for such purchases was entirely removed. On this subject Sir George Gipps, the late Governor, observes in a despatch dated 14th May, 1842,

> That up to the time when the assignment of convicts to private service ceased, lands were largely purchased by new comers for the sole purpose of qualifying themselves to receive convicts,—assignment of convicts being made according to the landed qualifications of the different applicants: but, since the discontinuance of assignment, this inducement to purchase land has of course wholly ceased.

Another striking proof of the utter wantonness of the measure is the fact, that capitalists were thus raising a monopoly against themselves. The capitalist alone pays for the land, and his money is expended in bringing out emigrants: but the old settler, who received grants of land, and who paid nothing, was ready in Sydney, along with the merchants and tradesmen, to engage these emigrants so brought out, at higher wages, than the party, who paid for their passage, and required their services, could possibly afford to give. This plan reminds one of the man who killed the goose that laid the golden eggs. Here were *at once ruined the creation of the fund*, the emigration itself, together with the settler for whose benefit the whole plan was put into existence: and with the settler fell the colony.

Although the pursuits of settlers and squatters are very much the same, still there is a distinction between them, as they carry on their systems of sheep-farming under different circumstances. Certain boundaries are established within the colony, by the name of boundaries, or limits of location. These embrace the colony proper as divided into counties, and within those limits land is either sold, or let upon lease. Beyond them it is not either sold or let; but *licenses* are granted for the occupation of such tracts as may be desired for pasture by proprietors of

stock. On each of these licenses a fee of £10 is payable annually: and an assessment under a local ordinance (2d Vict. No. 27) is levied on the stock depastured thereon.

The settlers occupy that portion of the colony within the boundaries of location, and the squatters the districts beyond. The settler's land is generally a grant, or property purchased either from the crown direct, or from a private settler. As it takes about three acres of land to feed a sheep, of course the settler has a great deal more to contend with than the squatter who sits down on Government land, possessing a run of 5,000 acres, for the annual rent of £10. The settler therefore does not keep many sheep on his purchased land; but, if he happens to be a large sheep-holder, he takes out a license, and sends his flocks to a squatting station, to be managed by a superintendent. His home station is then generally used for a few flocks, or as a resting place for others coming down to market; and he endeavours to raise wheat both for the home and out-station.

The settler's life is one of unceasing occupation from day-light to sun-down. In the morning he sees his sheep taken out of the hurdles to be fed, or, it may be, he has cattle to brand, or to receive drays with provisions, or to despatch in them provisions to the station, to send down his wool, to plough his land, to sow or reap his crop, to wash and shear his sheep, to pack and press his wool, to make his wine, to grind his wheat, to attend to his garden, to proceed to his station, to hire and despatch shepherds, to keep his accounts, to give out the weekly rations to his establishment, to proceed to Sydney for the purpose of shipping his wool to England, of getting supplies, and transacting business with his agent. In these, and a thousand other matters constantly occuring, the settler's time is fully occupied: and, as avocations, so numerous and varied, never go on smoothly, he is kept in a constant worry. He is annoyed by the conduct of servants, by the loss of bullocks by which his drays may be detained for weeks on the road, by the want of rain which destroys his crop, or by a deluge which entirely sweeps it away. Latterly, in addition to all this, he has had the misfortune to see all his golden dreams of fortune evaporate, to find his bills dishonoured, his cattle or sheep return from Sydney unsold,—and to face, above all, the ruinous expense created by the sharp practice of the Sydney lawyers, who at once institute actions, and hasten the wreck of his property into the hands of the sheriff.

Such is a rapid sketch of the settler's life in 1844. Four years before how different were his prospects! In these palmy days of supposed prosperity, he was gay, active and hopeful, driving his carriage, and entertaining his friends with claret and

champaign,—with plenty of exercise in the open air on horseback, his hands full of business, his flocks and herds increasing, and his credit unlimited. But when "a change came over the spirit of his dream," then matters were materially altered. He had no longer the same incentives to exertion; and, finding all he could do of little or no service, he began to await the result with a gloomy indifference.

The squatters, although, like all the other colonists, they felt the hardship of the times, were at first in a better position. They had their land for nothing. No doubt they paid an assessment on their stock, on sheep $\frac{1}{2}d.$, cattle $1\frac{1}{2}d.$, and horses $3d.$; but these taxes went to provide a border police for their protection, and a commissioner, whose labours were of much use to the squatter. The duties of this officer were to enquire into the correctness of the returns made by the occupants of the number of their cattle; to carry out the law in respect to the branding of cattle; to impound the cattle of unlicensed persons; to decide upon questions of encroachments; to settle disputes between the licensed occupants, and between masters and servants; and generally to secure the rights of the crown, and protect the lives and properties of the squatters.

There was a strong feeling of jealousy on the part of the land-holder against the squatter. Thus Mr. McQueen says, "This measure acts most unfairly to the old settler, and to 'those who have sunk capital in agriculture and general 'improvement; it encourages a race of wandering unsettled 'and almost lawless proprietors, of stock, some of whom, it 'is shrewdly believed, are not over scrupulous how they in-'crease their flocks and herds." This gentleman was then a considerable land-proprietor in New South Wales, and of course adverse to a system, which did not encourage the purchase of land, but held out all the advantages of sheep-farming, without embarking a large capital in the purchase of land. But in truth, instead of being "lawless proprietors of stock," the squatters of the New England district, the most important in the colony, are mostly all gentlemen of high character and good family. There were perhaps more gentlemen in New England than in all other parts of the colony put together, and among them men who had sunk a large capital in sheep and cattle.

Squatters besides are the pioneers of the colony. They are gradually bringing into civilization the wild districts, and have pushed considerably beyond Moreton Bay on the north (nearly 500 miles from Sydney,) and nearly as far in a south-westerly direction, towards Yass and Port Phillip. In doing so they un-

dergo very great hardships, and no little danger from the blacks, who are very troublesome at distant stations. The squatter has everything to do, when he first encamps at a station he means to occupy. He has to build huts for himself and his men, shearing sheds and other out-offices; to fence a paddock, and to cut down and root out the natural timber, which is sometimes very heavy. During all these operations he has constantly to shepherd his stock, and is liable to be attacked by the wild blacks, who, if they do not murder his solitary shepherd, are very apt to carry off of his sheep and spear his cattle. The squatter is therefore entitled to as much support as the Government can give him. The uncertain tenure of his land was very annoying; as in former time he was at any moment liable to be removed, and even now he is at the mercy of the Government, which *may* pay him for his improvements on the Government land, or—*may not*.

A bush life may appear to the romantic very delightful; but to a man with a family, a narrow income, and in an expensive country, where he must keep up a good appearance, it is a life of unmixed discomfort. Every day is so like another, that it puts you in mind of the monotony of the sea; and the calm tall gum trees with the songless birds are most tame and stupid. Besides all this, something is eternally going wrong. The fierce sun has withered up the new sprung vegetables; the well has run dry; the dray with the provisions has been robbed by bushrangers, and arrives a "miserable account of empty boxes;" the servants have got drunk or bolted; the horses have gone astray from the paddock; the sheep have come home *minus* a few hundred, or, during the night have been attacked by the native dogs, and many of them destroyed. A thousand other distresses and annoyances are continually occurring, which no vigilance or prudence can in any way prevent.

The society again is very limited, and not such as one can have very much pleasure in. The settlers are all of them too much taken up with their own concerns to spare any time for visiting: and, when they do visit, the conversation is all about their annoyances and troubles, or the everlasting talk of sheep and bullocks. This is the general tone of society in the bush, although there are of course several favourable exceptions.

The mode of living is with every one very much the same. Almost every settler kills his own sheep or bullocks, and as the former is more easily manageable,—mutton seems to be universal. The quantity used is really wonderful. The common rations for a man is 10 or 12 lbs. of mutton per week; and, where a number of men are kept, many sheep in this way are killed

every week; in hot weather, and when the meat will not keep, they are killed every day.

A great deal of the comfort of a family depends on servants. Although even in England they are a plague, still you can *get* them, however frequently you may have occasion to change,—and you have always the hope that the next change will be for the better. But in New South Wales in 1840, you could scarcely get servants for love or money; and even when you got them, and brought them from Sydney at considerable expense, it was very difficult to prevail upon them to remain. The females often got married, or went off without being married at all; and, as for the men, they were so utterly useless, and ignorant of the kind of work required of them, that you were nearly as well off when you had none. The class of emigrants sent out at this time was wretched. No care was taken in providing proper and efficient men for country employments; and, as Mr. Marshall, who was then in full force as an emigration agent, had no inducement held out to him to be particular in his choice, as he got a guinea a-head for every emigrant shipped, it is evident that the most lazy, worthless and inefficient persons would serve his purposes just as well as the best instructed able labourers. Strange to say, the convict women were not much inferior to the emigrant women; indeed, as the settlers had more control over them, if they were not thoroughly depraved, they were often the more useful of the two to a family in the bush.

From the prosperous state of the colony in 1840, the public were not at all prepared for the ruin which afterwards overtook it; the first appearance of which began to shew itself about the middle of the year 1841. We have no doubt that even then many persons initiated into the mysteries of banking, and judging of their own personal liabilities, and the great extent of their speculations, were full of fear for the future, and did not think matters were on a sound basis. But at that period they did not give the matter much thought: they were entirely occupied in their own manifold concerns from morning till night; and they never dreamt of comparing notes with their neighbours, because they could not do so without explaining their own pecuniary affairs.

Without examining minutely the speculations of private settlers, who all anticipated a golden harvest as the issue of their labours, there were, even in 1840, many subjects of dread which would occur to the mind of a close observer. In the first place, the number of banks was alarming. There were the bank of New South Wales, the Commercial bank, the bank of Australia,

the Union bank, the bank of Australasia, and the Sydney bank. All of these were large joint stock banks with immense capitals, and some of them English banks, having branch establishments in the interior. These banks all issued notes, and competed keenly for business. Of course they were very desirous to oblige their customers by discounting their bills; and, it is said that the bank of New South Wales had lying in their coffers, not gold or bullion, but dishonoured bills to the amount of several hundred thousand pounds. These sums were due principally by the proprietors of bank stock; but, instead of enforcing payment of these bills, which it had originally discounted, the bank took them and placed them to the debit of the stock account,—thus rendering the amount of stock of each holder nearly nominal. This certainly was a most extraordinary system of banking, and one which sooner or later would bring down any establishment.

The distress at first appeared among the very small settlers, or those who had speculated the least. When a bill of one of these men fell due, and was not regularly taken up, a legal prosecution immediately ensued. At this time, the lawyers were fully employed, and the amount spent in litigation was quite enormous. One extensive mercantile firm especially, which had very large transactions in all parts of the colony, managed its affairs in a most discreditable manner. Their bill transactions were very large, and their system was never to pay bills when they could be renewed. As soon as they became unrenewable, they arranged so as to pay off certain bills, allowing law proceedings to take place against them on the others, —openly alleging that they could turn the money to more use by keeping it, than the law expenses amounted to: so that in this matter they gloried in their shame, and, it may be, compelled honest, but poor men, to be sacrified by their inability to meet their engagements. In London, when a merchant's bill is dishonoured, he cannot again shew himself on change, and, as a matter of course, he must become insolvent; but in Sydney, matters were very different, although afterwards these very merchants became insolvent to an enormous amount.

In many instances, parties were both merchants and bank directors. Suppose, for instance, A. and B. wished to join together in buying up a cargo of tea, sugar, or flour. They could easily do so, and yet not have a shilling. A. had merely to take B.'s bill to his bank, where he could thus at once raise £20,000; another £20,000 would be raised in a similar way by B. Then with £40,000, they bought up the whole cargo of tea or sugar then in the market, by which at once a monopoly

was created against the settler with his own money. The tea, or sugar, was then sold at a very large increase of price to the public, and probably the money was pocketed by the monopolizers,—leaving the bills, or part of them to be renewed, and, what afterwards turned out to be the fact in one of the banks, viz. the Bank of Australia, the bills themselves to be paid up by the shareholders of the bank.

The banks also in a most cruel manner curtailed their discounts to the unfortunate settler. The paper of settlers, we cannot tell for what reason, was not looked at, when the banks were eager enough to discount the Sydney merchant's paper. It is plain that no policy could be more short-sighted, as the settler is the main stay of a colony, which has nothing but wool principally to depend upon; and that wool cannot be raised, except by the industry and exertions of the settler.

It becomes then very easy to perceive how, with such powerful agencies against the settler, he began to totter towards his fall.

The number of declared insolvencies, which took place during the year 1843, was quite surprising. The list, extending from the commencement of the panic to this period, was little under one thousand insolvents;—and there were many others tottering on the brink of ruin. By degrees the large landed proprietors began to feel the want of money: their bills became due, as regularly as before, but there was more difficulty in getting them renewed; and then money became more difficult to get, in consequence of the falling off in the price of stock. They likewise felt the effects of their former extravagance: the accounts for goods purchased came pouring in. They were pressed by lawyer's letters, instantly followed by actions, soon doubling the amount in expenses; while the absurd regulations regarding land, rendering their land, unsaleable, together with the great additional expense of managing their establishments by hired labour in place of convicts, all combining, threw the affairs of the settlers generally into confusion. Great distress arose, but still it was not conjectured that the distress and ruin would become so universal as it soon proved to be.

But it is not only in its mercantile character, that the morality of New South Wales stands so low: in the trial of cases in the Supreme Court, and more particularly at Police offices, the amount of perjury daily uttered is quite astounding. India, heathen though it be, affords no parallel to the unblushing effrontery with which this system is carried on. In fact you will get men in any number to swear anything you like; and the magistrate can merely weigh the probabilities with the character of the witnesses.

But it is time to turn from the settlers and the squatters, the merchants, the felonry and the ex-felonry of the colony, to the subject of the aborigines at large, and their habits and character.

It is a curious fact, that in every part of the country, taken possession of by Europeans, whether by force or otherwise, —as the white men become more numerous, the blacks and the kangaroos gradually disappear. In and about Sydney, there are very few native blacks, and these of the most hideous and worst disposed kind. They are naturally a race difficult to train to habits of industry; and, as they are fond of ardent spirits, those who have survived about Sydney, and other large towns, become debauched, and in personal appearance most disgusting. Generally speaking, only the lowest of the white population take notice of them; and then merely out of sport, or from a fellow feeling in the love of vice. Up the country again, the aborigines are a much better race; and, in some districts towards the south, they have been made to labour at several of the farms. This however is the exception to the usual rule; for they are most inveterately addicted to idleness, and no kindness or good treatment has hitherto availed to convert them into steady labourers. When hard pressed for food, (a case which very often happens,) they will bring in wood or bark to an establishment, or assist in weeding a garden, or in gathering maize; but as soon as they have been rewarded with a full meal, they will very likely take themselves off, and leave the wood half cut, or the maize half gathered.

They are the most primitive people in the world. They encamp in the open bush under the gum trees, with no shelter, even in bad weather, but a few pieces of bark stuck up against a tree. They kindle fires, and some half dozen of them sit down around each fire, which are at no great distance from each other, and there they remain, a day or a month, as the whim strikes them. The oppossum and wallaba are their principal food; for seldom do they get a kangaroo, except they wander far into the interior. In fact there are very few kangaroos in the settled parts of the colony. It would appear, as if they did not relish the grass over which sheep feed; for it is a certain fact, that there is no more sure way of driving the kangaroos into the far interior, than to send flocks of sheep into the districts they formerly inhabited.

Many experiments have been made to civilize the natives: but generally, all have failed. The best plan perhaps, is taking them when children, and keeping them as much as possible separate from their countrymen. The few we have seen at school,

were not particularly intelligent, but they were docile and cheerful.

The blacks have always a most timid and frightened look. They are constantly at war with the neighbouring tribes, and therefore watchful and suspicious. Their keenness of sight is truly remarkable.

In the wild districts, as we may call them, about Moreton Bay, and on the outskirts of Liverpool Plains and New England, the native blacks are very troublesome. Reports of their spearing cattle, stealing sheep, and killing the solitary shepherd, were continually heard; and the settlers, having little protection from the Government, had taken matters very much into their own hands, and shot the blacks like wild beasts. It was not unusual to see stands of arms proceeding up to these stations in the drays for the avowed purpose of arming the convict servants, and killing the blacks. This was really a shocking state of matters. The blacks exhibit certainly very unpromising specimens of humanity, the lowest perhaps in the scale; but they have been dreadfully ill used by the white man. The first of our people, who came into contact with them, were the lowest and most depraved of the convicts. These villains treated them cruelly, took from them their wives or *gins*, and shot them, when they offered to resist. Mutual causes of irritation have since arisen; and at some outstations they are very troublesome;—but can it be wondered at? We have taken from them their country, deprived them of their supply of food,—the kangaroo and opossum, driven all before us into the far interior, robbed them of their women, killed the men and have made no provision for their subsistence, and very little exertion to civilize or enlighten them. It is true, that we can point out gross aggressions on their part at some solitary sheep station, or treacherous and brutal conduct in murdering some inoffensive traveller. We do not defend such savage and bloody deeds; but when we remember the inhuman and merciless treatment the natives met with from the persons who first went among them,—when we remember the wholesale murder of an entire tribe, who, enticed by false pretences and show of friendship, were made drunk, deprived of their arms, bound all night, and next morning, in cold blood, actually roasted alive by Englishmen,—men, women and children—can we wonder that such acts, and innumerable others of a like infernal nature, which have never come to light, have driven the blacks to desperation?

If some step is not taken to protect both whites and blacks, and to interfere between them with a high hand, we must soon witness the complete extirpation of the aboriginal race. Many say, that

this is a consummation devoutly to be wished, as they are useless, idle, and depraved. It may be that they are so; but God created these people, and gave them an ample field for their enjoyment, with abundant provision for their natural wants. Did He send us thither to deprive them first of their land, then of their food, and last of all of their lives? As they shall answer to Him, it is the bounden duty of the settlers to tax themselves to create a fund for the supply of food for these unhappy persons, to cease from that brutal system of hostility and aggression which has been carried on for years, and to introduce among them, patiently and gently, the blessings of civilization and Christianity.

In personal appearance the natives are generally hideous; although we have seen among the men very handsome fellows. Their features are all bad; but the bodies of the young men are in some instances very well formed. Their habits of life tend much to develope the natural form, and they enjoy excellent health from their constant exposure to the open air. In the numerous drawings which adorn Major Mitchell's book, in which, also many of the original habits of this extraordinary race are detailed, you have a very fair specimen of their appearance. The women are not nearly so well formed, or so handsome as the men. This may arise from the harsh treatment they meet with, or from the wretched lives the poor creatures pass, without protection from the cold weather, by means of clothing, or habitation of any kind. They have a strong sense of justice in their way, and will give to their fellows, left behind at the camp, an equal share of tobacco, or any other luxury, which may be given them.

Education is still in its infancy in New South Wales. Indeed of all civilized countries on the face of the earth, this colony is perhaps the worst, in so far as regards the education of a family. This does not arise so much from the want of talent on the part of the masters of the various schools and colleges, as from the contagion of vice among the boys. It is certainly difficult for the masters to adopt any system to expel vice. It appears naturally bred in the youth of Sydney, and strengthened by the lessons learned at home. Indeed wherever vice predominates, and want of principle is in full growth, a public school increases the evil. At the same time, the plan adopted at Sydney college is not a good one to check the natural propensities of the pupils. They are left entirely to their own guidance. They come from their respective homes, and are allowed to ramble through the streets of a large town, without that control which would keep them out of mischief. In the interior again, there

were no schools at all; and it was necessary to resort to private tuition. Unfortunately the tutors to be had were anything but satisfactory; for any educated person could make more, by keeping a store-keeper's books, than by teaching. Our personal experience tells its own tale:—the first person we tried, was totally indifferent to his charge, and, when he left us, became ultimately a hut-keeper at an out-station. A second behaved so badly, that though we sent him money to pay his expenses up, and to buy some necessaries for himself, we never saw either the tutor, or the money. With such difficulties in the way of educating a family, there is no alternative but to keep the children at home, and do the best one can for their instruction.

Thus, in the country, you can obtain neither ordinarily good schools, nor ordinarily good private tutors: and, at Sydney in the colleges, where the parties *are* qualified to teach, the moral contagion is worse than the benefit arising from any amount of instruction. The vicious habits of the lads are learned, partly in the streets of a city, swarming with felons, always on the watch to corrupt the unwary youth, and too often, alas! from the example shown them at home. The simplest remedy would be to keep all the pupils within the walls of the college, and to board them there. Such a system, vigorously prosecuted under teachers of high character, penetrated by a deep sense of the moral and religious importance of their work, might issue in the moral renovation of the youth of Sydney.

Of the religious character of the colony, we shall only, for the present, observe, that by the local church act of Sir R. Bourke's Government, the different denominations of churches, whether Episcopal, Presbyterian, or Roman Catholic, are placed on the same footing, and paid alike. But the great mass of convicts being Irish catholics, and the preponderance of emigrants being also from Ireland, the Roman Catholic religion is spreading with great rapidity. Amongst all, as the tone of society but too obviously indicates, religion is at the lowest ebb, from causes which hereafter we may submit to our readers.

But we must hasten on to the crisis of 1843 and 1844. One of these grand crashes, which gave fresh impetus to the stream of ruin, was the failure of the bank of Australia. This establishment was a joint stock bank, after the plan of the Scotch banks, set up by numerous shareholders, chiefly men of wealth and landed property in the colony, and conducted by a body of directors, headed by a chairman and deputy chairman. The management must have been frightfully bad; and the system, which we formerly condemned, was in full force at this bank. So early as May, 1842, it appeared to be in an unsound state, from

the fact, that the directors issued a fresh batch of notes, and delivered them to their customers, on the understanding that they indorsed each note, and would only be charged in account with such notes, so indorsed, as found their way back to the bank. These were generally scattered far into the interior,—of course in the hope they would not again find their way to Sydney. Such an expedient could of course only be resorted to in the throes of bankruptcy. That event speedily took place, and cast a gloom over the whole colony. This was not only, because of the vast sums which hitherto solvent persons were called upon to refund; but, from the exposure of the system of banking, and the conduct of the directors in appropriating to themselves the money intrusted to their care, it was felt that the colony at large would suffer much, and fall low in the eyes of the English public.

It was a total failure. The unfortunate shareholders, always the victims in such cases, were called upon to make good the deficiencies of the directors; and orphans and widows not only lost the whole of their stock, but had to pay up, out of the remnant of their means, the calls made upon them according to the extent of their shares. It needs not that we point out to our readers the likeness, or rather the identity, of these circumstances with the Union Bank catastrophe in Calcutta. Here we see the same false and unsound system pursued for years; the same gross misconduct on the part of the directors,—the negligence of some, the fraud and rascality of others; the same impunity for the offenders; the same wide spreading ruin and misery falling upon the innocent and unfortunate shareholders. If there be a difference in this shameful strife, the capital of Felonry must yield the palm to the superior genius of the metropolis of the East.

Another blow to the colony was given shortly afterwards by the final stoppage of the Sydney bank. The directors however were not like their brethren at the bank of Australia, and seem to have been imposed upon by their manager and cashier. These parties prepared and laid before the board false returns, and in this way the directors were misled. The Bank also had not been long in existence, *luckily for the shareholders;* and as soon as the directors found out the fraud which had been practiced, they had the manliness at once to stop, and to declare it. The shareholders, accordingly, escaped pretty well, and we believe, were likely to receive ten in the pound on their paid-up capital. The manager and cashier, who were the defaulters in this case, were brought up to the police office; but the magistrate would not commit them.

Why he did not send the case to a jury, we are at a loss to know. Certainly it is not satisfactory either to the shareholders, or to the public, to see such instances of malversation escape unpunished.

The state of Sydney towards the end of 1843 was truly melancholy. Every one you met had a long desponding face, and seemed completely at their wit's end. The town itself was rather improved in appearance; gas lamps had been introduced; houses had been built, in the suburbs particularly; and the foot-paths were adorned with neat curb stones, in some places even with pavement. But one looked in vain for the happy faces, the bustle of business, or the roll of carriages, which made every thing appear so cheerful three years before. Few people were moving about, and many of these were the pictures of misery. The shops were outwardly as gay as ever, but there was no one purchasing inside: and many were entirely shut up, or selling off bankrupt stock.

If such was the state of the capital, where the residence of a large number of people naturally creates bustle and stir,—the state of the country was very much worse. We recollect passing through Maitland, in September, 1843; and the place brought to our recollection the description of London, when visited by the plague. There was absolutely nothing doing. The shops were shut up in rows, and those, which were open, had their goods piled up behind the counter, while the shop man and his assistants stood utterly idle, and apparently most desponding. The inns even were deserted; no carriage was to be seen; and did a gig appear, or a solitary horseman riding for pleasure, it became a matter worthy of remark.

During this period of general depression, the price of stock was uncommonly low: and this was the more grievous, as it was with the produce of the sale of stock, that the engagements of the settlers were to be met. Fat bullocks of 800 lbs. weight, brought only £3 or £4; sheep 8 shillings, and everything else was correspondingly low. Six months afterwards, in 1844, the same bullocks were sold for *ten shillings*, and sheep for *one!* It is very easy to perceive what the consequences must have been to the settler, who had purchased the cattle at £8, or £10 a-head, and sheep at 40 shillings a piece. It very often happened that no sales could be effected at any price; or, if effected, cash was not given even at these low rates, but a bill, which, when due, was not paid. The consequence was a complete state of stagnation.

It was then that the system of auctions, always, a favourite mode of raising money in New South Wales, was put into full

operation. Whole ship loads of goods were sold at once for what they would fetch; and shopkeepers, who could not sell their good in the usual way, took out auctioner's licenses, and sold off every thing they had by the hammer. Every second or third door, in this way, became an auctioneer's place of business, and, from morning to night, goods were knocked down for any sum they would fetch. It would no doubt have been a good speculation, to have bought up those goods originally sent from London, to have freighted a ship, and then re-sold them in London:—in this way, we doubt not, after paying all expenses, a very considerable profit would have been realized.

Nothing could more strikingly shew the entire want of money. Where it had gone to, no one knew. Much must have been drained off to England in the original purchase of the extravagancies of life; and some few capitalists were no doubt afraid to embark their money in a country, where every thing appeared so uncertain. The banks likewise, which stood out the storm, had shut up their cash, and would not allow a penny to escape.

Another breach of faith was committed by the parties, to whom goods from London or elsewhere, had been consigned. These men sold by auction the property entrusted to their care; and even the miserable sum the goods realized, when forced into an over-stocked market, never reached the parties who had shipped the goods. When the sales were effected, the money was applied to the agent's own wants, and bills granted in return which, long before they became due, were met by the filed schedule of insolvency. In this way, the unfortunate owner of the goods was as fairly done out of them, as if they had been seized, when landed, by a body of thieves.

But the surge, which broke so fiercely, has swept over the colony. The first panic is past. Confidence and hope are returning: and, if she will but profit by the lessons of the past, there is a bright future for Australia. Let us now consider her capabilities. There can be no question that Sheep-farming is the chief, if not, the only profitable speculation for the present in New South Wales. We include under this name the possession of a cattle station. As this is generally near the sheep station, the same establishment can manage both. There were various opinions in 1842 among the settlers, whether sheep or cattle were the more profitable; and at that time the preference was given to cattle. The returns indeed are much slower,—for it takes several years before a bullock is fit for market: but if a settler could afford to wait, he had the

great advantage of conducting his establishment during the years of probation at a much less expense. Labour is the chief expense at a sheep station; and there was then great difficulty in getting servants at all. While, if he keeps cattle only, the settler himself has the healthy and pleasant daily exercise of visiting his cattle run, observing that the stock feed quietly, are not disturbed by blacks, and do not stray from the run. Thus all the incessant care and handling necessary with sheep are avoided. At a sheep station you have every morning to see the watchman count over each flock to the shepherd from the hurdles, and, on their return at sun down, they have again to be counted into their folds. The flock must not be more than 500 or 700 for one shepherd, and the hurdles are to be shifted each day. We speak not at present of the sheep shearing, or all the requisite labour in getting the wool shipped, but merely of the daily routine.

The chief matter to be considered at a sheep station is the expense of management. We subjoin a table of the comparative expence of a freeman, a prisoner, and a coolie, viz:

Freeman.	s.	d.			
Flour 12 lbs.	3	0			
Beef..... 10 „	2	0			
Tea ¼ oz.	0	6			
Sugar 2 dr.	0	6			
Per week	6	0	p.an.	£15	12 0
Wages				25	0 0
Cost of a Freeman for 1 year ..				£40	12 0

Coolie.					
Flour or Rice	2	7½			
Beef	0	8¾			
Chillies, Ginger, &c.	0	0¾			
Per week..	3	5	or p.an.	£8	17 8

Slops.				
1 Jacket 7			£	s. d.
1 pair Trowsers.. 7	}		1	0 0
1 Blanket 6				
Wages, 10s. per month			6	0 0
Freight & Expense from Calcutta average		}	2	0 0
			£17	17 8
Small Sundries.....			0	2 4
			£18	0 0

Prisoner.	s.	d.			
Flour .. 10 lbs.	2	6			
Beef.... 8 „	1	8			
Tea	0	3			
Soap ..	0	1			
Sugar .. 1 lb.	0	3			
Per week....	4	9	or pr.an.	£12	7 0

Slops in May.				
1 Jacket	7	0		
1 pair Trowsers ..	7	0		
1 Shirt.....	2	3		
1 pair Boots	7	9		
1 pair Blankets ..	10	0		
			1 14 0	
In August.				
1 Shirt	2	3.		
1 pair Boots	7	9		
			0 10 0	
In November.				
1 Duck Jacket....	5	0		
1 pair Trowsers ..	4	0		
1 Shirt	2	3		
1 pair Boots.	7	9		
			0 19 0	
				3 3 0
				£15 10 0
To balance & small sundries..				0 10 0
				£16 0 0

Freeman	£40 12 0
Prisoner	16 0 0
Coolie	18 0 0

This table was made in 1840, by a practical person at a station, where freemen, prisoners and coolies were actually employed.

Sheep-farming in New South Wales has been a losing concern for some years. It has not repaid its own expenditure. Indeed it is calculated, that by careful management, the sale of the wool will barely meet the necessary expenses: and all that the sheep farmer has to look to as profit, is his increased stock. As soon as sheep bring once more 20s. shillings a-head, the farmer will then realize a handsome sum on the sale of his increased stock; but at present they are well pleased if they can merely exist, and pay their way by the money raised from wool.

It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the vast labour and personal exertions endured by the stock-holders, especially those beyond the boundaries. These squatters in particular go through much hardship. They are generally active enterprizing young men, whom no difficulties can put down, and no dangers terrify. They shepherd their own flocks when necessary, drive their own herds of cattle through the country, and employ themselves in any manual labour required about the station.

It is quite obvious that sheep-farming will be a losing concern if the sheep are to be fed on purchased land, or on leased land, where the tenure is not only uncertain, but burdened with severe taxes, and arbitrary rules. It is calculated that three acres are requisite to feed one sheep; so that the land must be cheap in order to purchase such an extent, as would be required for a settler's flocks; and, accordingly, beyond the boundaries, we may expect to find capitalists embarking in sheep-farming.

In the squatting districts, by the land and emigration commissioner's report of 1843, it appears the number of stations was given "at 756, embracing 8,963 acres under cultivation, with a 'resident population of 7,593. There were about 1½ millions 'of sheep; and the amount of assessment was calculated at '£5,773."

"In these districts you must live and work like your own men, not only in attending the sheep, but in all the work of the station. In travelling through the bush, you must encamp at night under the canopy of heaven,—exposed to the weather, the frost, the dews, and the rain. It is astonishing how well squatters, so exposed, escape. Though sleeping in the open air, with nothing to cover them but an old horse rug, or slight blanket, and rising from the wet ground covered with dew, and dripping, they suffer no injury. The climate is therefore calculated for this kind of life: and by those

who like it, and can have patience,—stooping to every kind of work, avoiding inns, remaining almost constantly at their station, and living generally on salt meat and damper,—by such, no doubt, money may yet be made in the colony.

The vineyards are increasing very fast in New South Wales; and there can be no doubt, that it will in time become a wine growing country. The grapes are exceedingly good, growing in great abundance on each vine, the clusters being sometimes a foot long. There are already several vineyards of considerable extent, such as Sir John Jamieson's at Regentville, Mr. Macarthur's at Camden; and on the Hunter, Mr. Ogilvie's, Captain Pike's, and Mr. Kelman's, near Black Creek Besides these gentlemen, who have for years made wine, several others are now doing so. We have drank wine, made by Mr. McIntyre from his vineyard at the Cuan, of a very excellent description, especially a red wine, which was not inferior to claret. Mr. Forsyth also at Cliffdale has commenced in earnest, and with good prospects of success.

The progress hitherto made in the raising of wine has not been great. Formerly there was so much wine imported, (and the saving of money in purchasing such was never dreamt of,) that there was no opportunity for the native wine to advance. Now however with the bad times, there has appeared a necessity, not only to save every expense, but to raise a commodity which will be a source of revenue. If it only could drive away the vile system of spirit-drinking, it would tend much to the moral improvement of the country. At all events there seems no reason why the settlers and others should not drink it in their own families, giving up entirely the use of foreign wines. If so encouraged, the landed proprietors would all cultivate the vine. The climate agrees admirably with it;—and the soil, both the rich alluvial soil, and the light sandy chalky ground, is well calculated for the various kinds of grapes. A vineyard will take a few years before it bears at all, and at least five or six, before it is in perfection; so that the raising of wine must, from this fact alone, be always a work of time. The sooner, however, the vine plants are set, the better; and we hope yet to see the day, when sufficient wine will be raised for the supply of the whole colony. This alone would be a great advantage,—that the large sum, which has annually gone out of the colony for imported wine, would remain in the colony, and be turned to some profitable use.

Much wine however is never likely to be exported from New South Wales. The wines raised will be at best like the continental wines as drank abroad; and, as the wine brought to Eng-

land is no doubt prepared with the greatest skill, there is little prospect of Australian wine competing with French, Rhenish, or Portuguese. Many pipes, however, might be sold in England from the novelty of the thing;—but the grand advantage to the colony would be the prevention of imported wines being consumed there, and the improvement in the morals of the people from their drinking a less intoxicating liquid. Many Germans are now engaged in New South Wales in wine-making, who were formerly so occupied on the banks of the Rhine; and there is every prospect that good light wines, best calculated for a warm climate, will be produced in the colony. Another advantage, which every day is gaining strength, is the advanced age of the grape. This has of course a considerable weight in the proper making of wine:—but as no skill could force the age, the wine-growers were frequently obliged at an early period to use a grape not fit for their purposes;—and therefore the wine produced was a very inferior kind.

Of the fruits which grow in the colony, there is a very great variety. Besides the grape, which is certainly a most delicious fruit, and found in abundance, there are the melon, (rock and water), the orange, the fig, the citron, the pomegranate, the peach, the apple, the pear, the guava, the nectarine, the loquat, the lemon, the mulberry, the apricot, the banana, the egg fruit, the pine-apple, the cherry, and the raspberry.

The melons are delicious; and, on a hot Australian day, it is a great treat to secure a good large rock or water melon, and sit down with a friend in an easy way to enjoy it. It is a fruit only properly to be relished in a warm climate, and may there be ate in any quantity.

The vegetables are good, but there is considerable difficulty here in raising them; in the interior, for whole summers we have seen none, not even a potatoe, a cabbage, or a turnip,—for without rain what can you do? There is at Sydney an annual show of vegetables and flowers: and here we have seen most admirable specimens of cabbages, turnips, carrots, cauliflowers, and other kitchen garden produce. The vegetables had the appearance of overgrowth, but still were tender and of a remarkably delicate flavour. It is most unfortunate that potatoes, the best and most useful of all vegetables, do not grow well in New South Wales. We hardly ever tasted a good potatoe in the colony; and those, which are generally eaten, are the potatoes of Van Dieman's Land.

There are very few native wild fruits of any consequence. The prickly pear is the best. It is less than an ordinary pear, grows on a low green vegetable bush, and may be converted

into a pleasant jelly, the acid of which is very agreeable. The native cherry is chiefly remarkable from the fact of the stone's growing *outside* the cherry, instead of in the centre, as in England.

The pumpkin grows in great perfection here, and may be used either as a vegetable, or as soup, or for pies. We have seen them of such a size, that it was quite a load to carry one. Ships leaving Australia generally take a great many of them, to use as vegetables on the voyage. They are said to be excellent, to cure, or to prevent, scurvy among the crew.

Wool, after all, is the chief and principal export. The others are as yet very insignificant. A sheep will produce about 3 lbs. of wool, and as there are about 7,000,000 of sheep in the colony, the quantity of wool annually exported is little less than twenty millions of pounds. This is a very large supply, and of course employs a vast number of ships in conveying it to England. Wool varies in price, and has of late years been very low, selling from 10*d.* to 15*d.* a pound,—the best not fetching more that 19*d.* In former years its average price was 3*s.* 6*d.*

As it is impossible to overstock the wool market in England, —inasmuch as any increase of wool would only drive away the foreign supply,—the colonists need never fear carrying on their sheep-farming to any extent they please. There are certainly at present many difficulties to contend with; but it is encouraging to know, that there is a market at home ready to take all that can be sent.

From the great distress of the times, tallow became a large export. The settlers, when they found they could not procure almost any price for their sheep, began *to boil them down;* by which means the whole sheep, with the exception of the hind legs, was converted into tallow and was then worth from 6 to 8 shillings, a price nearly three times as much as they could get for the living sheep, when sold in the market. It was certainly a very wholesale method of disposing of flocks, and one which could only be resorted to by desperate men in desperate circumstances. Boiling down establishments became common all over the country; and as every thing was managed at these establishments, with great expedition, all that a settler had to do, was to order his shepherd to drive his flock to one of them, and, in the course of a week, his sheep were boiled down, the tallow made, packed in casks, transmitted to Sydney, and shipped for England. The tallow, when it reached London, brought £42 a ton, or about 4½ per lb.. Hind legs of mutton were consequently very cheap, from the number thus suddenly thrown into

the market. They were sold at 9*d.* each; and many thousands were made into mutton hams, which, when well cured, were very good.

A considerable quantity of oil is brought to Sydney by the South Sea whalers, and afterwards shipped to England. Wool ships generally take several tons of oil, which, being placed in the lowest hold, serve as ballast as well as freight. It is not a pleasant cargo, as from the extreme heat of the weather in the voyage home, the casks generally leak,—and the oil, mixing with the bilge water of the ship, is apt to cause an unpleasant smell. The French and Americans are very active with their vessels on the whaling ground.

Salted meat has likewise of late become an article of export. A company was established in Sydney in 1843 to kill, salt down, and ship to England, whole herds of fat bullocks, upon the same plan as that of boiling down the sheep. A considerable quantity of beef has been salted down, and sent to England: but although the beef is very good, and may do well for the use of ships leaving the colony for England, it cannot compete with the Irish beef. For, even if it were equally good, and equally well cured, yet it has this great disadvantage, that it must be nearly six months longer than the Irish beef in a salted condition. It is not therefore likely that ship owners and others interested, will take beef which has already been half round the world, in preference to that which, a few weeks before, was ranging on the fresh hills of Ireland, and was cured, only a week or two before it was wanted.

The cedar is fast disappearing. It is not shipped in any quantities to England, and is, now at least, in every respect so inferior to the wood of Spanish America, or the Baltic, that it is surprising it ever became an article of export. Considerable [illegible]ities of bones are exported, and, from the late salting of [illegible] they are now cheap and plentiful. But, we repeat it, wool [illegible] the chief, almost the only article of export. Let that flourish, and everything goes well; but when it is depressed, either by the lowness of the price, or by the expense of producing it, then the colony must fall back. Wool is its main stay, and principal support.

ART. III.—*The Revelations of an Orderly, by Paunchkouri Khan. Being an attempt to expose the abuses of administration, by the relation of every day occurrences in the Mofussil Courts. Benares: Printed at the Recorder Press:* 1848.

THIS little volume of a hundred closely printed pages in stitched covers is not likely to have the circulation it deserves, in its present humble form. It is a reprint of a series of letters, which recently appeared in a Mofussil journal, whose author was, and still is, unknown; but, like Mr. Shore's now celebrated "Notes on Indian affairs" which first appeared in a similar manner, we think it is destined to make a lively impression on the public mind. In form it is a work of fiction, and reminds us of Hajji Baba and Anastasius, in which are illustrated political systems in connection with individual and general traits of character and manners of classes and races of men, under the fiction of a narrative told by one of themselves. So here, our unknown author, in an official native character and as a native mahomedan, relates his own observations. For us, in all respects except one, our author's work has superior attractions: it wants the adornments which taste genius and learning have so richly shed over the pages of those celebrated productions. To these, our author makes no pretensions; he was not ambitious of displaying them: but he gives us many fine gleams here and there of rich talent, and there is a reality, a truth in fact, in every page, which absorbs attention. At each pause, we ask, can such things be? and the interest rises higher and higher to the end of the volume, in the conviction that it is history, more romantic than fiction, that we are reading Our present purpose is to give our readers a connected tale; to make an abridgment of our hero's life, with a running commentary of our own upon some of his more remarkable revelations.

Paunchkouri Khan, the assumed name under which our author makes his revelations, began life, in the humble post of an *Oomedwar* at the magistrate's cutcherry: his employ was, as we should say, to wait at the door, receive cards, or announce persons who called to see his master. Paunchkouri had a friend, who, like himself, had been originally a poor *Oomedwar*, but had the good luck, by backstairs' influence, to get appointed orderly of the Huzúr * magistrate bahadúr.† To this friend he

* *Huzúr.* Presence. A term of reverence or adulation: like highness, excellency.

† *Bahadúr.* A term applied to persons of rank: meaning, the powerful.

made a visit, and found him, bearing, indeed, a sort of resemblance to his old acquaintance, but at the same time, with such a new air of grandeur and so altered, that he was afraid to address him. Involuntarily, says our hero, "I joined my hands and salamed; but no notice was vouchsafed to me; until, happening to enquire whether my friend *Suntokhea* were in existence, one of the party told me that *Suntokhea Singh* was indeed before me." Apologizing for his rudeness, our hero tried to make himself agreeable; and, every body else having left, his friend at length deigned to notice him, and to enquire as to his adventures. He first satisfies his friend's curiosity; and taking advantage of his complaisant mood, begs him to enlighten him, as to the ways and means by which he, once a poor *Kúnbre*,* had acquired so much substance.

It will be observed that the manner, in which these characters are cast, is particularly favorable to mutual confidentiality: and the reader has the great benefit of it, in hearing, in a conversational and rapid stile, and with equal truth and air of verisimilitude, the origin and history of some of the greatest social and political corruptions, which prevail in the police, revenue, and judicial branches of the public service.

SUNTOKHEA SINGH EXPLAINS TO HIS FRIEND THE CAUSES OF HIS PROSPERITY.

"What a silly fool you must be, my friend, to suppose I could have saved aught from my pay. As an orderly, I receive four rupees† a month. I am expected to be smartly dressed, and to be in constant attendance on the Huzúr; I must have something to eat during the day, and I cannot come home to my wife for my meals. How then can I keep myself in decent clothing, and feed myself, wife and children, on four rupees a month?"

Paunchkourí replies, that he was only the more puzzled to find out the secret of his system, "as he could do nothing for any suitor for justice; nor could he bar access to the Huzúr; how then could he make money?"

Suntokhea explains the mystery:

"A great man's Múktyar‡ or Karinda§ is sent by his master 'to wait on the Huzúr. He is admitted into the entrance 'hall, where he remains unnoticed for a couple of hours. To 'all his prayers, to give intimation to the Huzúr of his pre-

* A cultivator, of a caste famous for its industry.

† A rupee is intrinsically worth about 1 shilling and ten pence.

‡ *Múktyar.* Agent. § *Karinda.* Messenger.

'sence, a deaf ear is turned, until fairly exhausted, the Karin-
'da offers me a rupee. This is spurned, and I ask him whe-
'ther he thinks I *could* possibly take *one* rupee? The poor man,
'driven to desperation, offers me five rupees. On this I pocket
'the affront, put on my sweetest smile, declare that he is a per-
'fect *ushraf, (nob)*, and intimate to my master, that such an one
'craves an interview. Five rupees, you will say, is but a small
'morsel. I allow it; but then these delicate bits come frequently.

"Again, every rich native gentleman, who is in the habit of
'visiting the "*Saheban Alishan*,"* fees us orderlies on every
'festival. Suppose my gentleman becomes a non-conformist to
'our rules, or is in any way inclined to be bumptious; he
'finds that, in the next visit he pays the Huzúr, his suwarí† re-
'mains unnoticed in the compound;‡ or, if he enters the entrance
'room, no one will so much as give him a chair to sit upon.
'If he becomes impatient, we recommend his going away, as the
'Huzúr is busy, and has positively prohibited intrusion. My
'gentleman finds himself at a non-plus,—and is glad to compro-
'mise, by paying us all double fees, and giving a solemn promise
'of good behaviour for the future.

Paunchkourí, though a very great rogue, is a sensible fellow, and sees danger in such conduct. He therefore asks his friend, how he would get out of the scrape, if one of those gentlemen should inform the Huzúr of his tricks.

Why, replied he, nothing is easier. No man will dare to inform, because he would criminate himself. He can merely complain of useless detention; and if the Huzúr gives us a wigging for that, the next people that call are at once ushered into the presence, whether the Huzúr be busy or not. The end is, that his patience becomes exhausted; he scolds at indiscriminate admission being given; the servants reply that they had the Huzúr's own orders; he despairs of managing them,—and again they have their own way.

Let us here pause to make a remark, before we proceed with our hero's story. That such abuses exist, and are even common, is certain. It appears to us that the degree only, in which they are found, is remarkable: and *that* we take to be a great reproach to the ability and character of the heads of departments and of Government. Paunchkourí's solution of the manner in which they have risen to such a height is probable. But can it be, that officials, such as thanadars,§ when they come to the magis-

* *Sahiban Alishan.* Lord. † *Suwarí.* Carriage, conveyance, &c.

‡ *Compound.* The inclosure of land appertaining to the house.

§ *Thanadar.* The officer in charge of a thana, or police district.

trate on duty, are under the same necessity of bribing these "jacks" of the kacheri? It would seem they are: and Suntokhea explains this singular thraldom, as it respects them, in the following manner:—

"Suppose a thanadar does not purchase our favour; nothing 'is easier than getting him turned out. Of course we dare not 'meddle directly; but we watch our opportunity, and when we 'find the saheb idle, we talk in stage-whispers, and invent some 'scandal or lie against the thanadar, which one tells to another 'by way of news. A second states, that he also has heard such 'a story of the thanadar, and mentions it. A third says, that the 'thanadar is a *nimuk-haram*, (unfaithful to salt, an ingrate,) for 'he abuses the magistrate saheb bahadur, and says, he does not 'care for him, so long as he does his duty. These whispers are 'overheard, and operate like slow poison; and, on the occasion 'of the first irregularity occurring, our stories are (perhaps un-'consciously) remembered against the unfortunate thanadar, and 'he is suspended, *sine die*—which is in fact a dismissal."

Here Paunchkouri takes leave of Suntokhea in admiration of his inventive talents. He resolves to fee him for his interest in getting a berth, as a burra saheb's orderly, for himself, when, as he says, he shall be able to withdraw the curtain which hides other mysteries. He soon succeeds,—becomes Paunchkouri KHAN, late "*Oomedwar*," and gives us revelations henceforward from his own rich experience. By promising two months' pay, he first gets a chuprass, (badge,) which denotes his being on the regular and permanent establishment; and, soon after, is recommended to the "Dipty Saheb," (Deputy Magistrate*) whose orderly, in due course, he becomes. Several weeks pass, and still he pockets nothing, because, as he supposes, none but petty matters are tried by his master. In despair, he consults his friend Suntokhea once more, who calls him a simpleton to be in a "fix" about such a trifle. The Deputy Saheb has the *Surasúree* Department (for decision of cases between landlord and tenant); and Suntokhea delivers the following discourse on the advantages which it throws open to his friend:—"Where 'two parties contest a case, one must lose. The gainer, as an 'established *dustúr*, (custom), pays for the decision in his 'favor. It is an undoubted prerogative of the Huzúr's orderly to 'receive a fee, as also that of the mohurir, (clerk). Thus a dou-'ble object is gained. You will get a fee of at least four or 'eight annas,† and, by and bye, become the agent between the

* Deputy Magistrate: the uncovenanted grade of the magistracy.

† An *anna* is the sixteenth part of a rupee, consequently less than three half-pence.

'decree-holder and the clerk (mohurir); you will have the latter 'under your thumb, and can compel him to improve your pros-'pects."

Paunchkourí doubts and fears,—the natural consequence of his inexperience: but his more knowing friend assures him, that his saheb (master) is as blind a mole as the rest of them. How is he to discover anything? The decree-holders,* for their own sake, will not tell tales; and one leaves the presence on so many occasions, that, so long as somebody is within hail, the absence for a few minutes of an orderly is unnoticed. "Ask boldly," says Suntokhea; "I am confident of the result, and,—'do not fail to give me part of your earnings."

Paunchkourí proves an apt scholar. The next day, as soon as a case was decided, he quietly sneaked out of the room, and, following the successful suitor, significantly held out his palm. "To my joy and surprise," says Paunchkourí, "he slipped a rupee 'into it, and whispered me to give the múnshí (the Persian 'clerk) his share. I thought that bad luck would come of a 'division of such spoils, so I uttered an *ulhumdúlillahi* (thanks-'giving, praise to God,) and, stroking my beard, entered the 'presence with increased gravity." He adds, that the same experiment was repeatedly tried with varied success as to the amount; but in no case was he utterly disappointed.

After a few days, the múnshí, a person of very superior grade to these understrappers, sent for Paunchkourí, to inquire if he had made any money: he calls the prophet to witness, that nobody thought of offering him a kowrí. Friend, said the múnshí, have I not seen thee follow out the decree-holders? surely it was not without a purpose, and without some result. So help me Allah, replies Paunchkourí, I received nothing but scurrilous abuse. The múnshí then told him, that it was established as an ancient rule, that whosoever gained a cause, should give a douceur to the úmlah (officers): that in future he must demand fees in the múnshíjí's name, and retain one-fourth for himself and fellow-chuprassís, and give him (the múnshí) three-fourths, for himself and his friends.

HOW MUNSHIJI SCHOOLS PAUNCHKOURI AS TO THE MODE OF PROCEEDING.

"Suppose an order is passed, calling for a *kyfeut*, (report) 'or record, from the sheristah.† Nobody ever thinks of exe-

* *Decreedar.* Decree holder. † *Sheristah.* Native registry.

'cuting the order before the lapse of a week at least. If the 'plaintiff be importunate, and the saheb desire you to ascertain 'why the *kyfeut* has not been written, you take the complainant 'out with you, and ask him what he will give, if you get the *ky-* '*feut* written at once? The poor wretch, tired of waiting for days, 'gladly offers a rupee. You pocket it,—go to the Muhafiz-duftur, '(record-keeper), and say that the saheb has sent word, that, if the 'order is not at once executed, he will be fined roundly. The 'matter is ended at once, and we divide the spoil. If the party 'will not pay, you go and enquire, why the *kyfeut* is not written? 'The answer is, that some important papers are called for by a 'superior authority, and the Muhafiz-duftur begs that the Huzúr 'will give him a few days' grace. The harassed litigant finds it 'cheaper to pay a rupee, than to be kept cooling his heels 'at the court for weeks, and gives in at last, paying his fees with 'interest.

"Again, it is the established practice for a zumíndar* to pay a 'fee of one rupee for every jummabundí† that is filed in the 'office. This is taken by the Muhafiz-duftur and Qanúngos.‡ 'But, friend Paunchkourí, it is cruelly hard that you and I 'should not partake of the spoil. So look sharp; and whenever 'you hear a zumíndar complain to the Huzúr, that his jumma- 'bundí, although given in, has not been filed, try and make a 'bargain; go and bully the Qanúngo and Muhafiz-duftur, as if 'with the saheb's *hukúm* (order). The zumíndar will fee 'you, and we will divide like good friends."

Paunchkourí turned the lesson to proper account; made lots of money, and generally contrived to keep the lion's share of the prey to himself: but not satisfied with such small game, he resolves on the first opportunity to change his service, for one of greater emolument and higher station. He soon succeeds in doing this, and, in the next phase of his career, we meet him on the staff of the Nazir (native sheriff). This official is the chief of the executive; and his chuprassís share in the prestige of his name, as well as in the emoluments of his office. Our hero derived great advantages from this promotion: we cannot do better than quote his own description of them. Being a stranger, he had at first the fag, and none of the profits. "But," says he, "I was becoming quite a man of the world and a practical 'philosopher; so I consoled myself with the reflection, that 'when my *kismut* (fate) ordained it, I should become as great 'a man as Suntokhea Singh. Most diligently did I do the

* *Zumindar.* Landholder paying revenue to Government.

† *Jummabundi.* Rent roll. ‡ Fiscal officers.

'Nazir saheb's bidding. Most assiduous was I in filling his 'chillum (native pipe); bringing him water; running after his 'palkí or garí (carriage),—until I fairly won his confidence, 'and was looked upon by all persons as his especial favorite."

HOW PAUNCHKOURI MAKES MONEY, WHILE A SHERIFF'S OFFICER, OR PROCESS SERVER.

"I found that a deal of money was to be made, and by the 'simplest process in the world. The Dipty Saheb issues a 'summons for the appearance of a petty defaulter of revenue. 'The *tullubana* * is paid by the plaintiff; but, if he does not 'make a *moamlah* † with us, the process is never served. 'Several of these writs are entrusted to one man; but the ma-'jority of them are never out of the *kummurbund* ‡ of the chup-'rassí. When the period allowed for serving them has elapsed, 'a *kyfeut* is given in, to the effect, that 'the plaintiff would not 'indicate the party named, and that, therefore, the serving of 'the process was impossible.' Perhaps the plaintiff protests 'that no chuprassí ever went to the village. The Nazir is 'summoned. On being spoken to, he sends for me, and sharply 'asks, whether the summons was served or not? I call the 'prophet to witness, that the plaintiff's allegation is a lie; that 'I did go for three several days, but that the plaintiff would not 'indicate the defendant. Upon this, the saheb issues a warrant 'of apprehension, which is entrusted to me to execute; and the 'plaintiff not only pays the *tullubana* a second time, but pays 'the piper besides, by feeing me roundly to apprehend the 'defaulter."

Paunchkourí gives us a detailed account of the manner in which an auction purchaser of a nominal, and perhaps fictitious, possessory right, at the collector's sale, may manage eventually to supplant the true zumíndar, (if he is a small one), and get possession of his property. We can vouch for the probability of this story, but shall pass it by, for the present, as rather illustrative of the faults of the revenue and judicial part of the system, than of the character of the executive officers. Paunchkourí soon gives us another example of exceedingly complicated villainy; he himself makes fifty rupees "by the job," and, under color of a decree for rent, is the instrument to eject the poor cultivator. Having a mere summons to serve, he is feed, by the zumíndar or decree-holder, not to serve it. Accordingly he makes a return, that the defendant will not come out of his house, to receive the summons; in

* *Tullubana.* Fee for serving a process.

† *Moamlah.* Compromise. ‡ *Kummurbund.* Waist-band.

short, that he is rúposh (keeping out of the way, or concealing himself). Thereupon the unfortunate cultivator is ordered to be dispossessed of his fields for his contumacy, and "I," says Paunchkouri, "go out, with a force of peons (followers), and 'uproot every thing already grown by the cultivator, and aid the 'landlord in reploughing the fields."

If, on the other hand, the zumíndar refuses to fee the staff of the Nazir, they will do nothing for him.

"Should the landlord imagine that he can carry out the col-'lector saheb's order without giving us fees,—it gives us no 'concern. We make a bargain with the other party, and, if the 'worst comes to the worst, on going out to put the landlord in 'possession, we, instead of doing so, pretend scruples of con-'science as to uprooting crops about to ripen, and report to 'the saheb, in a well got-up *kyfeut*, that the *decreedar* is a '*zalim** and a *múfsid*,†—that Bulbhuddur Singh's repu-'tation is so well known to the Huzúr, that it does not need 'for the slave to represent, &c. &c., and so the *asamí*‡ keeps 'possession of his field."

HOW PAUNCHKOURI GETS ON TO THE PAY LIST OF A WEALTHY NATIVE.

Paunchkouri explains, in the following case, how he succeeded in getting on to the pay-list of a wealthy zumindar. "I was," says he, "directed by the Nazir (native sheriff) one day, to 'apprehend a revenue defaulter, or to bring his principal Karin-'dah (Agent) before the Huzúr. The defaulter was a Nawab-'zadeh, and the apprehension of even his steward would be 'looked upon as a disgrace. However the Collector Saheb 'Bahadúr passed the order to the Nazir, and it was my pro-'vince to obey orders. I proceeded at once to the Nawab 'Saheb's house, with two other chuprassís, and, presenting the 'warrant, desired them to accompany us to the Nazir. We 'had a broad hint to quit, for the warrant was thrown back 'to us, and a cry of "*mar* (beat) *mar*" raised, that induced 'us to bolt in double-quick time. Next day, a formidable '*kyfeut* (report) was given in to the Huzúr. I had heard that 'the Karindah was wont to come daily to the kacherí (office) 'to consult the sherishtadar (register). I was on the look 'out; and, the moment he appeared, I ran and informed the 'Huzúr, who at once ordered his apprehension. He was in 'quod for three days; and his master soon paid the amount

* *Zalim*. Tyrant.

† *Múfsid*. A fellow that makes rows.

‡ *Asami*. Defendant.

'due by him, for his man's release. This was a grand moral 'lesson for the Nawab Saheb; and the next time he took care 'not to insult people in power. When I went to make my 'salam, I was gratified with a fee, and promises for the future."

To us it appears, that this narrative affords not only a racy, graphic, and amusing illustration of character, but is also pregnant with instruction. It shows how quick and expert those are, in turning the slightest opportunities to account, who make their fortunes at the public expence by bribery and venality. Paunchkourí, accidentally, and in the most easy manner, as may many a time in fact have happened to many others, was brought to the notice of the Nawabzadeh, who had committed an offence of a very common and profitable kind,—default in payment of revenue,—but probably relied for temporary impunity, as ordinarily he might do, on the connivance of the sheristadar (native registrar), or other umlahs. But Paunchkourí was a new man, who had yet a position to gain: so, being independent, he makes the unusual move of going direct to the Huzúr, to inform him of the approach of the great man's múktyar. This intercepts or baffles the influence of the sherishtadar; and leaves, by a rare chance, the magistrate to his free and independent impulses. Consequently, the law is vindicated; but the Nawabzadeh becomes justly sensible, that such a result is an anomaly. He therefore gives our hero a present fee, notwithstanding his *honesty*, and promises for the future, not that he may act the like part again, we may be sure, but that he may have a motive for acting very differently.

Our hero gives some curious illustrations of the practical working of what he calls the abkarí system, or system established for raising a revenue from the consumption of spirits, ganjah, bhang, and other intoxicating drugs and liquors. Raw spirits, such as toddy, and some of the drugs alluded to, are pretty nearly spontaneous productions in many parts of India: and taxing them may be likened, in many of its consequences, to what would result from an excise on wheat, or barley, or such consumables, in the countries of Europe. It would necessarily open opportunities for all sorts of oppressions, the actual amount of which, would of course, in degree, depend on the character of the people, and of the servants employed to realize such a revenue. A worse or more oppressive method could not be devised, for such a population as that of India, than to farm out such a revenue: it would involve a delegation of fiscal power to persons, who would be sure to abuse it without mercy or moderation. Our hero bears valuable testimony on this subject.

"A fruitful field (says he) is the abkari system, and the 'license granted to opium and drug farmers to oppress the 'people, and screw money out of them. I say license given, 'because they make use of their farming license to be guilty 'of all kinds of villainy. I was directed one day to execute a 'search warrant for contraband opium. The *thikadar* (farmer) 'sent for me, made much of me, and put five rupees into my 'hand. I asked no questions, but knew very well that I was 'expected to do something for my fee. Several of the farmer's 'people accompanied me to the house which was to be searched. 'I authoritatively called out to the owner of the house to 'admit me to search for contraband opium. The man was a 'wealthy Bunneah*; and, appearing to be conscious of his inno-'cence, at once opened the door, and admitted us. I saw one 'of the farmer's men quietly deposit a bundle of something 'under some rubbish; and, after rummaging about, he ferretted 'out his own bundle, which he held up in triumph to us, as '*the* contraband opium we had been desired to search for. The 'poor Bunneah was horror-stricken, and appealed to me; but, 'having received a retainer, I dared not to defend the poor 'man. I swore he was a liar; and called out to the witnesses, 'before whom the opium was taken out of the Bunneah's house, 'to remember what they had seen, and to depose to that effect 'before the Huzur. The Bunneah in desperation offered me 'fifty rupees to release him. But as I could not do so, after 'having proceeded so far, I abused him; called all persons 'to witness that he had offered a bribe; and bundled him off 'to the Saheb Bahadur. He was fined 100 rupees, of which 'one-fourth was carried to the account of Government; one-'half was given to the farmer's people; and the remaining fourth 'was bestowed on me."

But it is as easy under such a system to screen the guilty, as to convict the innocent; and, to corrupt officials it is indifferent which they lend, or rather sell, themselves to do. Our hero thought this an admirable plan of making money: and characteristically resolved to try whether he could not make more by siding against the *thikadar* (farmer), rather than with him. "I had not long to wait," says he, "when an order was passed by the 'Dipty Saheb, to search the house of a well-known courtezan. 'The thikadar sent for me; but I would not go; and during 'the night I paid a visit to *Madame Dilfureb*. She received me 'haughtily; but I soon convinced her of my power to molest 'or protect her; and I was not only treated to 'every delicacy

* *Bunneah.* Shopkeeper.

'of the season,' but to her blandest smiles. I ascertained that 'she had a quantity of opium in the house, which her servants 'made up into *mudduk*, or little pellets for smoking. This we 'carefully hid; and next morning I accompanied the thika-'dar's men to the house of *Madame Dilfureb*. I insisted upon 'the people being searched, in the presence of a police burkun-'daz, previous to entering the lady's house. One fellow had 'a large bundle of *kuffu*, which was boned by the police, and 'the search proceeded; of course nothing was found. I duly 'reported the delinquency of the thikadars' people, who were 'roundly fined; and I not only received a handsome fee from '*Dilfureb*, but additional marks of respect and esteem."

Our author sometimes drops his assumed character: a dramatic impropriety we confess: but we gladly listen to the real opinions of a man of such varied and extensive experience. The system of farming he condemns;—and for evils, as we conceive, which are inseparable from it.

"The farmers of the Abkarí make large profits, not by the 'sale of drugs, but by holding a threat of searching honest 'people's houses in *terrorem* over them. They seize contraband 'articles; and extort money from the contrabandists, who are too 'glad to compromise with them, rather than be sent up to the 'collector saheb. And the farmer is glad to let them off for what 'he can screw out of them, because he gets the *whole*, and has 'neither the onus nor trouble of furnishing proof of the guilt 'of the parties. It is *only* in cases of public seizure, when the 'farmer dares not suppress the case, that rich contrabandists 'are sent up for punishment; or, where the parties are too poor 'to be squeezed, and the farmer's interest requires him to cram 'the maw of the penal law with a few victims."

To these objections we may add, that the Abkarí tax creates a numerous body of persons directly interested in demoralizing and corrupting the habits of the people. It gives legal establishment to a band of apostles and priests of intemperance among a simple rural sober population; and, we are sorry to believe, they carry on a too successful mission, and are rapidly extending the taste for intoxicating excitement.

It is natural that, with such opportunities as he has already described, Paunchkourí should feel a contempt for the legitimate pay and *dustúr* (customary fees) of office, and look about him for the more lucrative, but equally well established, profits, which corruption offers. He describes in animated strains the condition of his comrades. On comparing notes with them, he discovered that even his friend Suntokhea was but a "gudgeon" in comparison with several, who might, he observes, be not inapt-

ly styled the "sharks and alligators of our legal sea." Every man of them had one pukka house, (house built with masonry and timber), or more; and ranges of shops in the bazars, which they had contrived to convert into their own property; and Paunchkouri's eyes glistened at the prospect, which shewed that his own fortune, which he already deemed so rich, was but begun. Such truth, as this, explains, why government employment, of every kind and degree, is so universally and eagerly sought after, though the pay be ever so inadequate. The recipient of a few rupees per month, by the magic of office, becomes the master of elephants, rides like a prince on holidays in a howdah, and is a man of substance. Native society is thus put as it were topsy turvy: the great are those who should be the least, and the entire mass presents nothing but disorganization and chaos.

In the character of *Jubbur Khán*, our author personifies the prosperous police man, who with a miserable pittance of pay, of some four rupees per month, soon gets the command of every kind of comfort, and comes to the possession of pecuniary means, which might be envied by persons of considerable grade and importance in native society.

A PORTRAIT OF A PROSPEROUS POLICEMAN.

"I was connected," says Paunchkouri, "with *Jubbur Khan*, 'by marriage; and we saw each other frequently. *Jubbur* 'Khan was confidential orderly to *Nimaz Khán*, one of the 'officials of police; and he had played his cards so cleverly, 'that he had a considerable sum of money in cash, besides 'jewels, with which his wife and children were bedecked. Some 'five years ago, my friend was a poor devil of a *burkundaz*;* 'his own clothes were ragged, and his appearance was meagre. 'His wife and children were in rags, and half-starved. Whereas 'now he is as unctuous-looking a man, as ever lived upon a 'pow of *ghee*† per diem. Of course we frequently compared 'notes; and this is the marrow of his story.

"When a suitor goes to the thanah, it is the duty of *Jubbur* 'Khan to take him aside, and enquire how much he will give for 'settling the case in his favor? A bargain is driven, and the 'utmost squeezed out of the party that can possibly be obtain-'ed. Even a pair of shoes, a *topee* (hat), or a *kummurbund* '(waist sash), are accepted, in the absence of anything more 'preferable. Of course, *Jubbur Khan* swears to his patron that 'he takes nothing for himself, and is content, like a well-be-'haved jackal, to feast on the lion's leavings; but not a day

* Policeman of the lowest grade. † About half a pound of clarified butter.

'passes without his pocketing something handsome; and many 'is the time that the lion's share has fallen to his lot. He told 'me that his cue was to get up a *moamlah** against some 'rich *Mahajun*, or other wealthy person. For then, if the rich 'man would not fork out handsomely, nothing was easier than 'to word the *kyfeut* of the police report, so as to induce the '*Hakim* (judge) to issue an order for a *tuhkeekat* (criminal 'process): and then a golden harvest was reaped. For in-'stance—a man well-dressed (as every swindling black-guard 'may be) appears in the thanah, and gives in a formal complaint 'against a *nouputtee* (newly come) *Mahajun*, for the abduction 'of his sister, or daughter, or wife. Now such a charge is not 'cognizable; but, like an artful dodger, *Jubbur Khan* tells the 'complainant to state that the woman had 500 rupees worth of 'jewels on her person, which the defendant has also robbed 'him of. The complainant takes the hint, and depones accord-'ingly; and, as he expects to get a handsome sum of money 'from the *Mahajun*, for giving in a *razeenama* (charge), he gives 'a fee of 25 rupees to *Nimaz Khan*; and *Jubbur* is sent to the '*Mahajun's* house with a warrant. *Jubbur Khan* blusters and 'bullies the unfortunate *Mahajun*, and, producing his warrant, 'declares that, although much against his wish, he must take '*Dumree Lall* to the thanah. The *Mahajun* gives 100 rupees 'for a day's respite, and *Jubbur Khan* returns to the thanah. 'Next day he goes again to the *Mahajun*, who sends his 'confidential man with another 100 rupees to *Nimaz Khan*. 'At first the *Karindah* (messenger) is well bullied, his mas-'ter abused, and a threat held out that every mother's 'son shall be *chalan'd* (put in the report). At length *Jubbur* '*Khan* folds his hands before *Nimaz Khan*, and, after lauding 'him to the skies, as the soul of honour and peerless amongst 'the undaunted, entreats that the thanadar would reflect for a 'moment, whether it be possible for a man of such respec-'tability, as *Dumree Lall Sahoo*, to have committed such an 'act as the prosecutor charges him with: that *Dumree Lall* is a '*nouputtee Mahajun*, and a man of reputed munificence; 'whereas he had heard from several people, that the prosecutor 'is a *Dullal* (broker) and a *budmash* (bad fellow) &c. Here the '*Mohurir* (native writer) and *Jumedar* edge in a word, in praise 'of *Dumree Lall*, and in abuse of the prosecutor. *Nimaz Khan* 'relaxes the austerity of his countenance, and acknowledges 'that he *had* heard of *the housilah*, (circumstances) of *Dum-'ree Sahoo*, &c. He takes the *Karindah* into a private apart-

* *Moamlah.* Case.

'ment, and after a short while dismisses him. The prosecutor 'is sent for, abused most heartily, and threatened with all the 'most unheard of severities, if he again presumes to make such 'a false complaint against people of respectability. The *Dullal* 'respectfully enquires, whether the small sum of 25 rupees had 'been received by the thanadar, or not. He appeals to *Jubbur* '*Khan;* but one and all turn upon him; call him a liar and 'scoundrel; and he is summarily kicked out. A report goes 'up to the Saheb Magistrate, simply intimating that a charge 'of abduction had been brought by a *Dullal* against *Dumree* '*Lall Sahoo;* that the *Huzúr* knows well the character of '*Dullals*, and that, as the charge was not cognisable by the 'police, the prosecutor was referred to the '*Adalut-ool-alea.*' 'And thus ends the farce."

Another source of wealth to the police is the abstraction of part of the stolen property, after it has been recovered by them: "no one ever thinks of suspecting the police: and if 'suspicion be excited, (kyá faidah) what matters it? where is 'the proof?"

Jubbur Khan was desired one day to apprehend a suspected coiner, who had been circulating a quantity of base coin. "Such is the cleverness," says our author, "of these fellows, that 'it is asserted as a fact, that the very day the new Company's 'rupee was circulated, a supply of the base coin was simulta-'neously sent into the bazar. *Jubbur* proceeded boldly to the 'house of *Jalea Purshad*, the suspected party, and, calling out to 'him, declared he had come to intimate the Huzur's orders. He 'was desired to remain outside, until the women were put out 'of the way; and, after a quarter of an hour's delay, he was 'ushered in, with extreme civility, into the presence of *Jalea* '*Purshad. Jubbur* produced his warrant, and told him, that he 'must accompany him at once to *Nimaz Khan;* and bullied him 'roundly, for keeping him for so long a time at the door. *Jalea* '*Purshad* begged of him to be pacified; declared his readiness 'to accompany him at once; and, before leaving his house, put 'a gold-mohur into *Jubbur Khan's* hand, and begged of him to 'mention nothing of the detention out-side *Jalea's* house. The '*Sahoo* took a bag of a hundred *inducements* with him, in case 'of need, and departed with *Jubbur Khan.*

"On reaching the thana (police office), the first order given 'is to put *Jalea Purshad* in the stocks. He is taken away for 'the purpose; but whispers to *Jubbur Khan*, to tell *Nimaz Khan* 'that he has brought a *nuzzur* (present) for his worship. The 'thanadar receives the inducements, and finds them sufficiently

'weighty to remove the prisoner's feet from the stocks. He is 'introduced into a decent room apart from the others, and his 'people are permitted to bring in his *bistur* (carpet), and to 'make him as comfortable as circumstances will permit. Of 'course *Jalea Purshad* gets off, minus the *inducements*, for there 'is no proof against him; and *Jubbur Khan* swears that, not 'only did he not see any thing suspicious in *Jalea's* house, but 'that he was at once admitted therein. In short, by *Jubbur* '*Khan's* statement, the execution of a search warrant, or a war-'rant of apprehension, may be always evaded, *if* the delinquent 'is able to *oil palms*. For, as he candidly confessed, the *Sirkar* '*Buhadur* gives me four rupees a month, and the offer of a 'sum equivalent to six months' pay, whether often, or occasion-'ally, ought not to be resisted by an orderly."

The revelations of our hero are not confined within the wide circle of the umlahs of the Courts, and the class of policemen. He presents us with a lively portraiture, from a class, whom he designates as "a set of miscreants that infest the Courts,"—meaning the *Muktyars* (a sort of Attorneys). "Without any pretence," he says, "to education, without any legal knowledge, they de-'rive a maintenance, by fomenting quarrels, by mystifying their 'clients, and by misquotations of the Qanun-i-Sircar (Govern-'ment regulations), the 'circular chitties' (Circular orders), and 'the 'contractions' (Constructions of the Nizamut Adawlut). 'Noisy declamation and lying are their talent; and extreme 'impudence is their privilege. Rebuked, fined, turned out, as 'they have been, they contrive to creep in again, as soon as there 'is a change of administration. Many an amusing scene have I 'seen," says our hero, "and many *a rise do* they take out of the '*Hakims* (judges)." Such is our author's description: but we do not quite agree with the spirit of the criticism, and we doubt the wisdom or justice of holding this class up to official vengeance. They are paid agents, selected for required services, and open to the influence of mutual rivalry and competition. If depravity is characteristic of them, we may be sure it is owing to the dirty work which is necessary to be done to serve their principals. The fault lies in the tribunals. Practising in the very hot bed of corruption, men, with such aptitudes, such manners, and such depravity, are the proper retinue of the Augean stable. We have endeavoured to find in our hero's illustrations of the múkytar tribe, by what qualities he characterizes them, in relation more particularly to the judges. He appears to have chosen deceit and adulation, two vices which commonly are united; and the portrait is natural.

THE MUKTYAR TRIBE ILLUSTRATED BY EXAMPLES.

" A clever *Múktyar*, one *Lallah Door-undesh*, once played off ' a fine trick on a *raythar* soft Joint Saheb. There had been a ' serious affray in the country, and two men died of *lathee (club)* ' wounds. *A consideration was given to the thanadar*, who ' ordered the corpses to be burned and thrown into the river; ' and a report was sent up to the *Huzur* to the effect, that a slight ' *mar-pit** had taken place; but that the *fidwi*† had himself ' proceeded to the spot, and satisfied himself that the ' affray had been so trifling as to be unworthy of notice:—that ' *Jhút Bhur*, Goraet, had indeed informed him, that two men ' had died, who were concerned in the affray; but, having made ' due enquiry, he, the *fidwi*, had ascertained that the de- ' ceased had been laid up with fever for three months, and ' that they must have died of natural disease:—that in the ' *ukhil-nakhis*'‡ of the thanadar, no further investigation was ' needed; and that he recommended, that *Jhút Bhur* be dis- ' missed." Thus far, all we have is a very ingenious con- spiracy between the múktyar and the thanadar to screen a murder. Reader, observe the details! Respecting them, singly and collectively, if you have any Indian experience, you will attest, as we do, the verisimilitude of the picture. Now let us follow up the conspiracy. " While the Joint Saheb ' was in deep meditation, puzzled what to do, up walks ' *Lallah Door-undesh*, and, salaming profoundly, offers a peti- ' tion, purporting that his client, who was son and heir to one of ' the deceased, declared that the deceased did really die of ' disease, and that the heir prayed that the ' *razínamah*,' ' be accepted. The *Huzur's* countenance gleamed with satis- ' faction at this untying of the Gordian knot; and, turning ' approvingly to *Lallah Door-undesh*, he enquired whether the ' petitioner were present? An answer was given in the affirma- ' tive, and a lad of twelve years produced. The Saheb then ' asked the *Múktyar*, whether the boy was really and in truth ' the heir to the deceased? To which *Door-undesh* replied, ' with a becoming smirking humility, 'Can the *Huzur* imagine ' that any one would presume to think that the *Huzur could* be ' deceived? *Jenab-i-allee* (His Lordship) knows that such ' a thing is impossible, and that he, the ' *doulut-i-khwah*' ' (slave), is incapable of deception.' The Saheb entirely satisfied, ' cocks his hat, and tells the Múnshí (Persian clerk)—' *Buhot* ' *khúb; razínamah munzúr; misl dakhil duftur.*' (' Very well:

* *Mar-pit.* Assault. † *Fidwi.* Slave. ‡ *Ukkil nakhis.* Office.

'the razínamah is admitted; let it be filed in the office).'" Thus, the conspiracy succeeds; but not without a previous suggestion of a doubt on the part of the múnshi, who, in the end, only gets wigged, for venturing to ruffle the even path of the magistrate.

"The poor Múnshí endeavours to remind the Saheb, that there 'are strong presumptions of homicide having been committed; 'that there is no proof that the boy, who gave the *razínamah*, is 'not a fictitious personage, &c. When *Lallah Door-undesh* 'breaks in with—'Thus it is, sir, that the *Umlah* try to warp 'your impartial judgment, for their own base purposes, even 'after your honour has passed a final order, which is equal in 'discrimination to the judgment of Solomon.' The Múnshí gets wigged for presuming to dictate to the *Huzúr;* and 'the parties leave the *kacheri* (office), in triumph.

"*Lallah Door-undesh* not only benefits by fees from the 'thanadar, and the parties concerned in the affray, but his character rises to the culminating point in the regions of public 'opinion. People at once perceive how well he can tickle the 'Saheb; and client after client comes with his retaining fee to 'entreat the services of *Lallah Door-undesh*. He walks consequentially towards his *ekha* (*anglice*, Hack-cab); and, 'meeting the Múnshíjí in the way, jostles him, and passes on, 'inflated with vanity and consequence."

Our hero discourses instructively on the want of a uniform practice, or procedure, in the magistrate's offices. It was his lot, he tells us, to serve under several hakims (masters). Their power and propensity to enforce each his own personal and peculiar rule and mode of practice, appear particularly to have struck his attention. "One," says our hero, "has a *shoukh* (passion or propensity) of turning every thing *últa-púlta* (topsy-'turvy). Nothing, that has been proposed or done by his predecessor, can be right. One objects to time-honored usage, and 'asks the spectacled Sheristadar, *Keon? koun ayeen ba moojib* '(why? according to what regulation is that done)? The old 'man, almost old enough to be his grandfather, stands before 'the *Huzúr*, and with folded hands replies, *Zabiteh yih hye, khodabund, sudamut* (*kadamut*) *se*, (according to custom, Sir, 'from a long time ago).

"*Zabiteh be d—d; ayeen dekhao* (Custom—nonsense; look 'at the regulation). Other hakims, says our hero, there are, 'who are content to look only through the spectacles, and to 'hear only through the ears, of their umlahs. To every remon-'strance they reply, Never make any enquiries yourself, or you

'will ruin the case. With such an official, an unanswerable 'argument is *Zabiteh yih hye* (that is the custom here). He 'respects every thing which he finds established. Every thing 'goes to rack and ruin from this man's easy yielding temper. He 'shews too much, while the opposite character shews too little, 'deference to the opinions of his officers." But, as our hero observes, the fault is in the system, or want of system, as we should say, "which allows officials, in so great a degree, to 'influence the rules of practice, and the conduct of the officers. 'The fault of the administration is, that officials have it in 'their power to alter the rules of practice as they please; and, 'instead of every zillah being governed on uniform principles, 'the modes of procedure of no two zillahs are similar."

Great evils, these, without doubt; but our author has not shewn the root of them; which we take to be the want, in the magistrate, of nearly all qualifications for the office, when he enters upon his functions. First, he is a mere lad. Secondly, he is of a privileged class, therefore puffed up in a manner unfavorable to the best developements. Thirdly, for three or four of the first years of his official life, and often much longer, he is not possessed of a colloquial familiarity with the language of the people; yet he hears, and is allowed to use, no other; and fourthly, as a consequence, he is dependent, in all he does, on the umlahs and police. They are his teachers; his mind is a blank, which receives just the impressions which they give him; and when matured by years, he is, we should say, all but spoiled,—ruined; and all the examples, which our author gives, are but the proper results of such an establishment.

Our author points out another evil.

"Where so much depends upon the *mizaj** of a functionary, 'and he has it in his power to do evil, or to do good, with but 'little control over his own actions; of course, the necessary su- 'pervision over subordinates must be considered as a contingency 'depending on chance. In some districts it is so *overdone*, that 'the services of the subordinate officials are lost to the State; 'in others, it is so imperfectly and weakly exercised, that the 'subordinate officials, in every department, are the *de facto* 'rulers."

Evils these are justly called; but they are not the radical or primary evils. In the latter class, the superior confesses his own incompetency; in the former, he accuses his subordinate officials; but, in both cases, the fault of the magistrate is essentially the same—the want of qualifications for managing his establishment.

* *Mizaj*. Temper, humour.

Our hero has enriched his revelations with portraits of many of his companions, and narratives of cases in which they were concerned.

ZUBBURDUST MISR AND LALLA RAMBALUK; AND HOW THEY ROSE BY ACCUSING THE INNOCENT WHEN THEY COULD NOT FIND THE GUILTY PERSONS.

"*Zubburdust Misr* was a strong, black, middle-aged man, 'with an 'oily-gammonish' kind of look about him, that de-'ceived every body. He was a burkundaz,* in the receipt of 4 'Rs. per mensem, and had been on the staff of the well known 'thief catcher, *Lalla Rambaluk*, thanadar of Zalimgunjo, dis-'trict of Beinsafpúr. A set of miscreants, whom nobody could 'trace, were going about the country, poisoning and robbing the 'lieges. Parties used to be found, lying dead, or dying, near 'wells, or in the suráces,† stripped of every thing, and without 'any marks of violence. The Civil Surgeon, on making a 'post-mortem examination, could only affirm that they had been 'poisoned, he presumed, with *dhutúra*.‡ The men "died, and 'their corpses presented no outward sign of violence" The 'greatest consternation prevailed. The Magistrate reported 'the circumstance to Government, and got a wigging for his 'pains; and he, in consequence, issued an order to "stop the 'pay of all the thanadars," until the delinquents were discover-'ed. Upon this *Rambaluk* was sent for, and directed to pro-'duce the poisoners, under penalty of the Huzúr's severe 'displeasure. Every thing that man could do was done, but 'we could make nothing of the case; so, like Lord Burleigh, we 'solemnly shook our heads, and pronounced the affair a mystery!

"Again, it was reported that four travellers had been poison-'ed, and robbed. Two died, but two recovered after a deal of 'trouble. The survivors deposed, that they had made a long 'march, and, about noon day, having come to a shady peepul 'tree on the road side, close by which there was a well of sweet 'water, they sat down to refresh themselves. They had no-'thing to eat but a little *chubenah*;§ which humble fare 'appearing to excite the compassion of a party of travellers, 'who were also seated under the peepul,‖ they offered them 'some *suttoo*,¶ which having eaten, they suddenly became insen-

* *Burkundaz.* Constable.

† *Suráces.* Houses at the road side for the shelter and use of travellers.

‡ *Dhutúra.* A strong poisonous fruit, called thorn apple.

§ *Chubenah.* Parched grain.

‖ *Peepul.* A tree sacred among Hindús.

¶ *Suttoo.* Prepared oatmeal.

'sible. They stated that sundry articles of silver, such as 'bangles, armlets, &c. were in their bundles, the whole of which 'had been taken by the poisoners."

A sufficiently alarming state of things this,—and not to be cured by "Acts for the punishment of wandering gangs of thieves and robbers," or any other merely legislative measures. The magistrate thinks it to be a state of things demanding the attention of the highest authorities; but all he gets, when he reports it to head-quarters, is, "a wigging for his pains." And what is the consequence? He must do the best he can; he must put in motion the police myrmidons. "Again," says our hero, "the most thundering orders were fulminated to the police. 'The kotwal (keeper of the jail) and all the thanadars (people 'in charge of district police offices) were sent out to hunt for 'the poisoners. But nobody could give any information as to 'their whereabouts. *At last, Rambaluk sent for Zubburdust 'Misr!*" And these two worthies availed themselves of the intense anxiety of the magistrate, as an occasion to enhance and extend their extortions, and to save their own credit and places by sacrificing innocent persons.

HOW RAMBALUK INSTRUCTS ZUBBURDUST MISR TO PROCEED IN THE EMERGENCY.

"Brother *Zubberdust Misr*, said he, you know that *Bhow-'anee Pershad Sahoo* is a notorious *thangeedar* (receiver of 'stolen property), and that of late he has not given us any but 'the smallest fees. Go at once to his house, search it, and 'produce the silver articles, according to the Huzúr's orders. 'I at once twigged his meaning; but, wishing to gammon him, 'I insinuated, that "*Lallah Saheb*, the *Sahoo*, must have in his '*dokan** scores of bangles and armlets: how then am I to know 'which are the ones that the poisoned traveller owned?" To 'this *Rambaluk* replied, You and I should understand one 'another by this time, *Zubberdust Misr*. Ask no silly ques-'tions, but go and produce the articles from *Bhowanee Pershad's* 'house, and there will be no difficulty in identifying them. 'I went, as directed; and, producing my warrant, proceeded to 'business. The *Sahoo* asked me, if I were mad to be searching 'the house of an old friend? He denied having any of the 'stolen property; and talked very much about his "*izzut*."† 'Friend *Sahoo*, I enquired, how will you account for having 'such a variety of silver and golden ornaments as yonder 'chest contains? (Here I pointed towards an old acquaint-

* *Dokan*. Shop. † *Izzut*. Character: honour: known respectability.

'ance, which was carefully concealed). He understood me, 'and offered me a hundred rupees, which I at once pocketed. 'I was afraid, however, to return to *Lallah Rambaluk* without 'any silver ornaments; so I took from the *Sahoo* sundry bits 'of silver that *had* been bangles and armlets; and, after *sum-'jhaoing** him, in the presence of witnesses, asked him whence 'he had procured them? He replied, that a woman, called '*Lutchmineah*, by caste a Brahminí, had sold them to him two 'days previous. I took *Bhowanee Pershad* and the bits of 'silver to *Lallah Rambaluk*, who, after cogitating for a few 'moments, uttered a devout "*Sree—Sree—Sree*," and, looking 'at me triumphantly, exclaimed that the whole plot was unra-'velled, and in two days our faces should be made white before 'the Huzúr. The *Sahoo* paid the thanadar another fifty rupees, 'and was released on bail.

"We then apprehended *Lutchminea*, and asked her to con-'fess. But she persisted in denying all knowledge of the bits 'of silver, or of the gang of poisoners. Give her a remem-'brancer, *Zubburdust Misr!* said *Rambaluk*. I took a large 'loose bag, containing decayed and dried chillies, and put it 'over her head, with a few shakes. In a few moments she was 'nearly suffocated, and, when she recovered her senses, she said 'she would confess to whatever we bid her. Her confession 'was taken in the thana before three witnesses; and, according 'to her statement, we proceeded to seize *Debi Misr* and *Singha 'Ram*. Both these worthies denied the charge; but they were 'old offenders, and required a little *sumjhaoing*. They were 'kept out exposed to the fierce rays of a vertical sun for a cou-'ple of hours, and, when fainting from heat and thirst, they were 'treated to the chilly bag. They readily confessed before wit-'nesses. Now here was a beautiful case for the magistrate. 'The surviving travellers had sworn to having received *suttoo* 'from a party, consisting of a woman and two men, who called 'themselves Brahmins. Two men and a woman had confessed 'to the crimes of poisoning and robbing. The bits of silver 'they allowed to be part of the property robbed from the travel-'lers. What booted it, that the travellers could not identify the 'robbers or the bits of silver? They had barely seen the rob-'bers for a moment, and the bangles, &c., had been broken up. 'But the robbers freely confessed; and all was right."

We must here pause and ponder over this statement, and admire how naturally the plot grows. This is no figment of the imagination. The extortion, followed by silent submission; the

* *Sumjhao.* To cause to understand.

false accusation; the confession made in open day and before witnesses, but under the influence of torture, previously inflicted in secret, on poor creatures who had no one to look to for protection;—such horrors are but too real. What follows? The case, thus concocted and refined by the police, is taken before the magistrate, who was delighted at their success. "The 'Huzur was delighted at our success; promised great 'things to *Rambaluk Lallah*, and *made me a Jumedar of 'police at once*. The defendants confessed before the magistrate. 'They had been imprisoned previously for mal-practice; and they 'were committed for trial by the Sessions Judge. The *Sahoo* got 'off, on the pretext, that he was ignorant of the silver having been 'stolen property; that he had voluntarily given it up to me; 'and, named *Lutchminea* as the party from whom he had 'purchased it. Here *Zubburdust Misr* paused to enjoy my astonishment.

"Friend, I said, what you have just related gives me the 'highest respect for your abilities. But surely the Sahebs are 'not gulled so readily? I also have played a few tricks, but had 'no notion of such wholesale consummate art as you mention. 'How were the alleged poisoners punished by the Judge 'Saheb?

"*Zubburdust Misr* sighed deeply, or affected to do so, and 'continued thus:—I had disbelieved that 'Ram Jee'* interfered directly in the matters of this world; but the issue of 'the case I have related gave me serious matter for reflection. 'You shall judge for yourself. Two days remained for the 'trial of the poisoners before the Junab Saheb Judge, when a '*rúbakari*† was received by the Magistrate, from the officiating 'Joint Magistrate of a neighbouring district, (a young, headstrong, opinionative boy,—one that *would* do everything himself, 'and not trust to his *Umlah;* one can never depend upon '*what* they do) purporting that a gang of poisoners, consisting 'of two men and a woman, had been taken by the police, just 'as they were rifling some travellers, to whom they had administered *dhutúra:* that they had a very miscellaneous collection 'of all kinds of silver and golden ornaments; that, finding 'denial of no avail, as they had been caught in the act of robbing, they had confessed to having poisoned and robbed sundry people at different times; and that they had heard, that some 'innocent persons had been apprehended, and were committed 'for trial by the Sessions Judge, in the zillah of Beinsafpore. 'They pointed out the property taken from the travellers, which,

* *Ram Jee.* A Hindú idol. † *Rubakari.* Proceeding.

'together with a copy of their confession, was sent to the Magis'trate of Beinsafpore."

"Here was a go! The Saheb Magistrate raved, and swore at the 'whole of the police. The men and woman, who had confessed, 'were asked, why they had confessed? and out came the whole 'story. This would have gone for nothing; but the travellers 'swore to the identity of the property sent by the boy Joint, 'and there could be no doubt as to the innocence of the parties 'we had apprehended. The upshot was, that the Kotwal, *Lalla* '*Rambaluk*, and two other thanadars, were turned out, and I 'was reduced to a burkundaz, in which place I have continued 'ever since."

A case, invested with more than common tragic interest, is told by our hero, of a man convicted, on his own confession, of murdering his own nephew; when the fact was, that there had been no murder at all, but the supposed murdered man had absconded, to avoid the consequences of a criminal intercourse, which he had had in his brother's family. The story is well worth following, step by step, in all its details. The case comes before the magistrate, first, in a true and probable report by the thanadar, of a man's being missing, and that nobody could give any account of him: but it was known that he had a criminal intercourse with his own brother's wife, the brother being absent; and, the intrigue having come to the knowledge of an uncle named *Zalim*, the missing party, it was supposed, had fled, no body knew whither.

Upon this state of facts, how does the magistrate act? Upon this "the Magistrate suspended *Gudha Purshad* thana-'dar; recorded his conviction, that *Lootcha Singh* had been mur-'dered by his own relations, in revenge for the intrigue with 'his brother's wife; that the thanadar of *Bewuqoofpoor* had 'been bribed to send up a false statement of the case. Fur-'ther he ordered that the Kotwal of the city be directed to go at 'once to the village of *Fussadgunj;* and, within a fortnight, to 'produce the murderers of *Lootcha Singh*, with the neces-'sary proofs, under penalty of dismissal."

Now suppose this case not a real one: even as fictitious, it shows what our author deemed both possible and probable. Aided by no light of jurisprudence, the magistrate yields to the first surmise which crosses his mind, and sets his myrmidons to chase after his own phantom. Hear the sequel:—

"Within the fortnight, the Kotwal reported to the magistrate 'that "*ba ikbul Huzúr*" (according to his command) he had 'apprehended the murderer of *Lootcha Singh*, who proved 'to be his uncle, *Zalim Singh;* and that the murderer not

'only confessed his crime, but that strong circumstantial evi-
'dence went to criminate him, &c. &c. The defendant *Zalim*
'made a free confession before the magistrate. He deponed,
'that a criminal connection had existed between *Lootcha Singh*
'and *Phooljhurea*, wife of his own brother, who was absent:
'that, fearing loss of caste, should the intercourse be fruit-
'ful, he had first remonstrated with *Lootcha Singh;* but
'finding him deaf to reproof, he murdered him one night, and
'threw his body, the same night, into the Ganges. No ques-
'tion was asked the prisoner: and the confession, having been
'written in a corner of the room, out of ear-shot of the Saheb,
'was attested by him and three witnesses, as a free and unex-
'torted confession of murder.

"Sundry witnesses deponed, to having heard of the existence
'of a criminal intimacy between the deceased, and his brother's
'wife *Phooljhurea*. They heard defendant reprove the
'deceased; and certain witnesses heard defendant threaten
'to kill him. But nobody saw the deed done. No body was
'found. There was no bloody weapon—no marks of a strug-
'gle, or other indication of violence. The magistrate commit-
'ted *Zalim Singh* to take his trial before the Sessions Judge, for
'the wilful murder of his nephew *Lootcha Singh*.

"The prisoner confessed before the judge. The witnesses
'corroborated what they had previously deponed to. The law
'officer gave a *futwa** of '*kissas;*' the judge referred the
'*misl*† of the case to the Sudder Nizamut Adalut, and recom-
'mended that *Zalim Singh* should be hanged."

But sentence of death cannot be executed without the confirmation of the highest Criminal Court, the Nizamut Adalut: and, out of the three judges of which it is composed, there luckily was one, more acute, and legally tinctured, than his brethren. His doubts led to a mitigation of the sentence: the man is ordered to be imprisoned for life (which generally is transportation), and to be branded on the forehead as a felon. This is done, and, on the real truth coming out, remains indelible, and makes life intolerable. But let our hero tell the tale:—

"In due course of time, the file of papers was laid before
'their Worships, the Judges of the Court of Nizamut Adalut.
'One judge concurred in opinion with the Sessions Judge, and
'was for hanging *Zalim Singh*. But, for the credit of the '*Sa-*
'*heban Alishan*,' the second judge Mr. ——, differed entirely
'from all the other Sahebs. He observed, that *Zalim* had
'himself gone to the thanah of *Bewuqoofpoor*, and reported

* *Futwa*. Sentence. † *Misl*. Record.

'that *Lootcha Singh* was missing: that the magistrate had 'merely attested his deposition, without putting a single ques- 'tion to him: that the wording of the confessions, as record- 'ed before the Kotwal, the Magistrate, and Sessions Judge, 'was almost similar, *verbatim:* that although the evidence 'went to prove that a family dispute had occurred, and that 'the prisoner *Zalim* had been heard to threaten *Lootcha Singh,* '—yet, that there was no proof of the murder having been com- 'mitted at all, as the '*corpus delicti,*' the only positive proof, 'was wanting. He, therefore, voted against capital punishment, 'and recommended that the prisoner be confined for life,—or 'until *Lootcha Singh* turned up.

"The whole of the judges concurred with Mr. ——, and *Za-* 'lim Singh, branded on the forehead as a felon, was trans- 'ported to Goruckpore. *Gudha Purshad* was turned out, and 'declared to be incapable of again serving Government; and 'the Kotwal received a very oily purwanah of good-conduct, 'and a reward of 500 rupees."

The truth afterwards came to light, by the return of the sup- posed murdered man, who came back, in consequence of hearing of his uncle's conviction; he had fled, for the reasons already mentioned, and enlisted in a sepoy regiment.

The sequel is not less interesting.

"The Saheb did not lose a day in sending for *Zalim Singh* 'from Goruckpore; and, when he was questioned, I made it a 'point to be present. The Saheb told him that he was free, 'as his nephew was proved to be alive. The poor victim of 'the law burst into tears, threw himself at the Saheb's feet, and 'pointing to his branded brow, asked the joint magistrate, of what 'use would freedom be to him, when he bore the mark of Cain 'for life? He was asked, why he had confessed three several 'times? He submitted, that the Saheb himself would have 'done so under similar circumstances: that he was kept in a 'privy, with putrid ordure up to his knees all night, and ex- 'posed to the influence of a burning sun all day,—until, mad- 'dened by the treatment, and wishing for death, or, at any rate, a 'release from his intolerable torture, he confessed just as he 'had been tutored to do by the Kotwal. He stated that not a 'question had been put to him by the magistrate or judge; and 'that, on attempting to speak, he was rebuked. He said that 'his release was a matter of indifference, as he was broken- 'hearted, and could not shew his face again in the company of 'honest men, owing to his branded brow.

"The Saheb Joint sent up a strong representation to the 'Nizamut Adalut. He recommended that the Kotwal should

'be dismissed, made to refund the reward he had received, and 'tried criminally, for having trumped up a false case of murder; 'that *Gudha Purshad* should be employed again, and receive a 'reward from Government; and that poor *Zalim Singh* be sup- 'ported at the expense of the state for life. This was asking 'only what was due from the Government. But what was the 'result?

"Poor *Zalim* was, of course, released; but no provision was 'made for him, nor any recompence awarded for his branded 'forehead. *Gudha Purshad* remained unnoticed. And as for 'the Kotwal, not only did he *not* disgorge the reward of 500 'rupees given him for his iniquity, but he was retained in pos- 'session of his appointments; and for aught I know, is still 'a "Jack in office."

"I saw that the *Saheb* was very greatly disgusted at all this; 'but he was helpless, and was obliged to swallow his indigna- 'tion. I could not help reflecting, however, on the cruelty of 'the punishment of branding, or '*Godna.*' Government has 'always objected to mutilation of a limb, because the culprit 'is thereby rendered helpless for life. But a branded felon, if 'ever released, is punished even more severely than by mutila- 'tion. He is morally degraded, and rendered an outcast from 'the society of men. The mark has mutilated his moral cha- 'racter, and disqualified him from resuming a reputation, of 'which he was innocently deprived; and he ought no longer to 'be made liable for raising his hands against those who point 'to that mark* as a disgrace and a reproach. It were well if 'our legislators gave the subject the reflection it merits, and 'repealed the damning law. But I forget that I am a poor, 'ignorant orderly, and must not presume to give a hint even to 'my betters."

That the harrowing case, here related, may be a real one, we should not doubt, if we had the author's assertion; but he may intend it only as a representation of incidents, which, though never, to his knowledge, found combined as he has related them, are often occurring. First, we have a case of more suspicion that a crime has been committed, worked up unto a charge, —contrary to the police report in the first instance, and without the essential fact, the corpus delicti, to raise a reasonable presumption. The magistrate was the author of the suspicion; and, following it up by the dismissal of the thanadar, whose version of the case was the correct and most probable one, he prevented evidence of the truth coming to him.

* Our legislators have, since this was written, given this subject their consideration, and, by an act just passed, have abolished the punishment of branding.

Then the requisition, that within a fortnight the murderers should be produced, obliged the police to commit in self-defence the atrocities which happened. Finally, "no question was asked the prisoner:"—probably because the magistrate was unable to ask a question, and the evidence was taken in a corner of the room.

The story, on the other hand, does justice to the humanity and feeling of our countryman. His error discovered, he instantly addresses, to his superiors in authority, the proper recommendations: not one of which, (except what respected the discharge of the poor innocent convict, and which cost no money and little trouble,) received any attention. We pass by the cruelty of sending the branded man back to his home, an outcast, without some provision for his subsistence. In money matters, this is sometimes the greediest and shabbiest of all governments; lavish towards favorites; denying what is just to all out of the privileged circle. But this we pass by, to note and point out the double impolicy, here illustrated,—of leaving unpunished, and continuing in employment the wicked Kotwal, and refusing the fair redress of taking the thanadar back into employment. One servant, who had committed no fault, and did only his duty, was treated as a criminal: while another, who had committed a great crime, was continued in public employment. The punishment of corrupt umlahs has often been pressed upon Government. The guilt of specified individuals is often confessed, but the hydra is also confessed to be a case beyond punishment.

We cannot think it, (nor will our readers,) a misemployment of these pages to multiply illustrations. A single one might deserve to make no lasting impression: but, from such a number, and such a variety, as our author has given, we can have no hesitation in drawing conclusions. "On occasions of sus-'picious death, burglaries and robberies," says our author, "the police are in their glory:" and he gives us the following illustration:

"A dead child is found lying in the middle of a cross road. 'The *Goraet** (called *go-right*, because he always *goes wrong*) 'proceeds to the *thana*, and informs the *Thanadar* that a ''*laash*' is found! that the umbilical cord has not been cut, 'and that the child must have been purposely and wantonly 'exposed to meet a fatal end. The *Darogaji* cross-questions 'the *Goraet*, and ascertains, that a suspicion of an intrigue 'between *Kulloo Kulwar*, only son of the rich *Sahoo, Bhowa-'nee Kulwar*, and *Mosummat Lutchminea*, a young widow, had 'for some time been current in the village of ——. The

* Headman of a village.

'*Goraet* declared that he was positive the child was their's. 'How far is the house of the *Sahu* from the place where the 'child was found? Only five koss,* *Darogahji!* Is *Bhowa-* 'nee Sahu rich? *Lakho rupea ka doulut hye, Khodawund* '(He has laks of rupees, my lord!). The very man, says the '*Darogah Saheb.* Here, *Jubbur Khan*, go and bring me *Kulloo* '*Kulwar* and *Lutchminea*, while I send a report to the Magis- 'trate Buhadúr. While *Jubbur Khan* is going on his errand, 'the *Thanadar* sends the putrid *fœtus* to the Magistrate, and 'intimates, 'that the practice of infanticide is daily increasing '—that the *Huzur* is aware that 'the *turúkki khwa*' has not 'the power to investigate such charges without an order from 'the *Huzur*—that the *Goraet* had given such information as to 'induce the *fidwi* (servant) to believe that he could trace the 'parties, &c. &c.' To this the Magistrate replies,—Make the 'investigations *husb-i-zabiteh* (according to custom).

"*Jubbur Khan* brings over *Kulloo Kulwar* and his reputed 'Dulcinea, and they are at once put into the stocks, as proved 'malefactors. But they have not come to the *thana* alone. A '*Chumarin*, an old withered hag, who deals in drugs and 'philtres, is also brought as a witness against the parties. She 'swears that, some nine months back, she was sent for to the 'house of *Lutchminea*, who asked her whether she could admi- 'nister any potion to hide the effects of love? and that she, the 'witness, did give her a powder, for which she received one rupee. 'But the prisoner, *Lutchminea*, flatly denied that she ever had 'a child, and alleged her readiness to undergo an examination 'by midwives. The *Thanadar* has his wits about him, however, 'and does not think proper to permit an examination. Next 'morning, the old *Sahu*, *Bhowanee Kulwar*, comes over to the 'thana, to bespeak the *Darogahji's* good offices; and he ven- 'tures to hint that his son is innocent. 'What have I to do with 'that, *Sahuji?* The *Goraet* swears to your son's guilt, and the '*Dai* (nurse) swears that *Lutchminea* bought a powder from her' I have the Magistrate Buhadúr's *hukum* (order) to apprehend anp '*chalan*† the parties,—and go they shall. The *Kacheri* is only 'twenty miles off, and, if your son and *Lutchhminea* are inno- 'cent, of course the *Saheb Buhadur*, whose justice is as famed 'as that of the renowned *Nousherwan*, will release them.' The '*Sahu* finds that he must bleed, and pour out the contents of 'some of his beloved money bags. He accordingly makes a bar- 'gain with the *Darogah*, to release his son at once for one hun- 'dred rupees cash. Very good, says his worship, release *Kulloo.*

* A koss is about two miles.

† *Chalan.* Send on.

'But Mr. *Kulloo* refuses to budge a foot, unless his beloved '*Lutchminea* is permitted to accompany him, and old *Bhowa*-'*nee* is forced by his son to pay fifty rupees in addition for 'her release. They are released, and go their way rejoicingly; 'while the *Thanadar* orders a *kullian*,* and whiffs away in 'delight, uttering an occasional *Ulhum-dool-illahi* (thanksgiving 'praise to god!) Of course a report is made to the Saheb Magis-'trate Buhadur, that there is no proof against the accused 'parties—that the *Goraet* is a liar, and a *múfsid*, for having 'implicated *Kulloo* and *Lutchminea*; and that, in the *fidwi's* 'ukkil-nakis,† the *Goraet* is deserving of punishment. The 'unfortunate wretch is suspended by orders of the Magistrate, 'and is eventually dismissed from service, and imprisoned."

It has been seen, that we cannot always give an unqualified assent to our author's criticisms. In one of the most interesting and graphic of his revelations, he describes the practices of certain classes of Hindus, as public nuisances, and, among others, those of the *dullals*, at Benares, a species of native brokers. One of their customs is described to be, to dodge after people who go into the bazars to make purchases, forcing their opinions upon them to their great annoyance, and levying a *huq*, the difference between the fair market price of an article, and the price which the broker's practice raises it to. The huq thus begins in a nuisance, but becomes established as a custom, and, though described by our author as illegal, is evidently regarded by him as necessary to be endured. But if illegal customs, which never took root at Calcutta, or have been eradicated, exist in Benares, it can only be by reason of some difference in the law, magistracy, or police of the two places; and therefore must be the result of bad government. Such in fact, it is shewn by our author, to be

THE NUISANCE OF THE DULLALS.

"Go into the *chouk*,‡ and attempt to purchase the most trivial 'article. Take up a pair of shoes, or a shawl, and you will find 'a *Dullal* at your elbow. The man praises one thing, abuses 'another; beats down the price of the vender authoritatively; 'and you are surprised, that such disinterested officiousness 'should be shown to a stranger in a crowded *chouk*. The man 'civilly offers to take you whithersoever you please, and to 'assist you in purchasing whatever you may require. You re-'turn home wondering what was the man's inducement to 'waste his own time in chaffering for you?—I lift the curtain

* *Kullian*. Hookah. † The servant's poor opinion. ‡ *Chouk*. Market.

'to shew you, that the venders and your *chaperon* are in 'league; and that your complaisant friend is a *dullal*, who takes 'very good care to lower the vender's price only so much, as to 'admit of his coming in for a handsome *dusturi*. The dif- 'ference between the bazar price, and the amount price of the 'article sold, is the '*huq*' of the *Dullal!* You will ask, whe- 'ther the vender may not himself pocket the whole of the 'money? I answer, that he dares not. The whole of the *Dullals* 'would cabal against him; would cry down his wares; would 'thrash him within an inch of his life; would by force prevent 'purchasers from attending his shop. Can such things be, you 'ask? Can the authorities submit tamely to such outrages? 'Why do not the parties, who are cheated or bullied, complain 'to the Magistrate? They *have* tried the experiment, and, al- 'though in a few instances successful, they have generally failed 'in obtaining redress, from want of judicial proof. Moral convic- 'tion is one thing, and judicial proof another. And were a 'Magistrate to punish on moral conviction alone, his judgment 'would, in all probability, be reversed by the Judge in appeal; 'who, having to form *his* judgment by the *written evidence*, 'must be guided by *judicial proof alone*."

Now here our hero refers the inveteracy of the nuisance to the vicious action of the appellate system. Thus, it appears that a common street nuisance, which a common policeman ought to be qualified to prevent, cannot even be dealt with summarily by a magistrate; but an appeal lies, in case of a conviction. We will venture to say, that on no just theory is a right of appeal in such cases given. Why then is it given? Because the police, the magistracy, the entire judicial service of the country, have not been found worthy of public confidence. The government dares not trust them without supervision at every step, and a check, in the minutest details, on independent action. But in its arrangements to prevent the apprehended mischief, it paralyzes what is good. And the policy of the government, in this respect, is the policy of nearly every covenanted civil servant, who has subordinates under him. Distrust, suspicion, all the most hateful dissonances which chaos might admire in a world just emerging from its sway, or about to fall under it, naturally arise under the present system. To prevent misdecison in a lower, an appeal lies to a higher tribunal; but then the mischief becomes only aggravated, for the appellate is not better qualified, and, proceeding merely on the written evidence, is less likely to form a correct opinion. And, as our author observes, the moral considerations which sway the judge below, are lost on the appeal against his decision.

THE DULLALS FALSELY PERSONATE THE GRAIN DEALERS.

The great supply of grain to Benares comes, by way of *Burna Sungum ghat*, to the *Trilochun bazar*, and, if unmolested in its course, would be laid down without intermediate charge of any kind, beyond carriage. It is the interest of the trade and of the public that it should be so; but our author represents the *dullals*, as setting up a right to act as a sort of middlemen or brokers, and to take a *huq* or custom at the ghat, or landing stairs, for which they render no service, and to which they have no just claim whatever. This nuisance is felt to be such by the grain dealers, and is prohibited by the authorities; in fact it has been put down: but, at each change of magistrate, the dullals make an attempt to re-establish it The means, which they employ for this purpose, are singularly curious, and characteristic. The dullals, concealing their true character, petition in great numbers as grain dealers, and bring complaints of oppression, and of the levy of illegal imposts, against the owner of the grain market. They reason thus: if we succeed, the disgrace and discomfiture of our adversary will revive our power, and alter our relation to the police and magistrate; if we fail, we are only as we were; the fraud, and perjury, will go unpunished. Our author represents the trick as eventually unsuccessful; but the story is pregnant with instruction, as it respects the character of the people, as well as their opinion, and our author's opinion, of the state of the magistracy and police, in permitting such experiments. It shews, what is unhappily too true, the entire want of virtue in great masses of the population. They have no right sense of religion; no avenging conscience, to avert the designing thought of any kind of wrong; and police and law, which are therefore so much the more needed, serve as auxiliaries to the vices of the people. Such tricks, as our author has brought to light, spring from the opinion, and the experience, that it is easy to enlist the police in the service of crime, and to deceive the tribunals. Sometimes they succeed; sometimes they fail: but, failing and detected, still they go unpunished, and that, as our author represents, mainly by reason of the vicious action of the appellate system. We will, however, give the case in the words of our author, and leave the reader to his own reflections:—

"The largest, if not the only, wholesale grain market in Benares is the *Trilochun bazar*, between the city and the *Burna Sungum ghat*. Here, as elsewhere, the *Dullals* have established their sway. One of the principal of these was *Bisheshur Singh*, who contrived, by some means or other, to eke out a comfortable subsistence by his iniquitous practices. If a boat

'put to at the ghat, and any transaction with the grain market
'was negotiated, *Bisheshur* claimed his *huq*. If the grain were
'attempted to be sold directly to the owner of the *Gunje* (market,)
'*Bisheshur Sing* gathered his band of *Dullals* together, got up a
'scrimmage, and himself lodged the first complaint in the thana;
'but the proprietor of the Gunje, *Sheikh Chalah*, was a cautious
'and canny cove, and managed always to escape, being saddled
'with the onus of these rows. *Bisheshur Sing* waited patient-
'ly, until there was a change in the administration; and no
'sooner was a new Magistrate appointed, than he presented a
'thundering petition to the *Huzur*, purporting that the *Gunje*
'was public property—that the former *Hakims* had removed
'all taxes and cesses, and had declared every person at liberty
'to land and sell his grain at will—that *Beoparis* (merchants)
'brought large fleets of boats, laden with grain for the use of the
'city,—but that owing to the great oppression of *Sheikh Chalah*,
'they could not land the grain—that a tax of so much per boat
'was taken by the *Sheikh* from every *Beopari*—that the grain
'was forcibly stacked in the granaries of the *Trilochun*—and
'that the *Sheikh* took a fixed sum per maund, for selling the
'grain, &c. Scores of similar petitions were filed, by parties
'calling themselves *Beoparis*.

"To these charges *Sheikh Chalah* merely replied, that he
'was owner of the grain market at *Trilochun*—that he made
'large advances to *Beoparis* in distant provinces, who brought
'or sent the grain to his market—that he provided *choukedars*
'for the protection of the boats—that he afforded accommoda-
'tion to the *Beoparis* for their grain in his ample store-houses,
'where it remained, until sold—that he supplied money to the
'*Beoparis* on the hypothecation of their grain—that, in short,
'he was merely a *broker* on a large scale, and received from
'the *Beoparis* only that brokerage, which mutual convenience,
'and long usage, had established. The Saheb Magistrate desir-
'ed his Assistant to go the next morning, and make enquiries
'on the spot; and I accompanied him, as his orderly. When
'the Assistant reached the bazar, there was a great crowd, crying
'out '*Cumpani ka dohai! Saheb Shistunt* (Assistant) *ka dohai!*'*
'The *Chota* (Junior) *Saheb* seemed quite perplexed, and asked the
'people, what they had to say? '*Dohai! Dohai! Sheikh Chalah*
'has ruined us and cheated us,' was all he heard. Upon this,
'turning round to me, he sagaciously asked, 'PAUNCH KOURI,
'are these poor people very ill, that they want *dowai* (medicine)?
'Why do not they go to the Doctor?' I humbly submitted that

* *Dohai.* A cry for help, or justice.

'they were not ill, but cried for justice, or *dohai*. But, said the Saheb, *dowai* or *dohai*, it is all one; for the poor men appear to be grievously oppressed. Here Múnshi *sowal purho*.* Some fifty petitions were read: the petitioners answered to their names; and the puzzled *Saheb Shistunt* looked at one, and then at another, and yawned from the sheer fatigue of thinking so profoundly. I whispered in his ear, 'May it please the *Jenáb-i-ali* (Lordship) to enquire, whether the petitioners, and the crowd present, are real *Beoparis*, or not? Your slave recognises them as *Budmashus* (scoundrels of) *Dullals*.' The hint was taken, and the Saheb himself put the question to every petitioner, '*Tum koun?*' (What are you)? '*Dullal hye, Khodawund,*' was the invariable answer. 'Very strange,' said the *Saheb Shistunt*, 'where are the oppressed and aggrieved *Beoparis?* Turn out the rascals, *darogah*, and bring me the *Beoparis*, from the bazar and the boats.' Several *Beoparis* presented themselves, who denied that they had any cause of complaint against *Sheikh Chalah*. They said that they paid him brokerage by the custom of the country; but that they *had* to complain against *Bisheshur Sing* and his rascally *Dullals*, who, by abuse and cajolery, cheated them out of small sums of money daily. The *Saheb Shistunt* represented matters truly to the Magistrate, who '*dakhil duftur'd*' the case (ordered it to be refered to the proper office).

"Why was not the principal, *Bisheshur Singh*, punished, you ask? For a plain reason. He would have appealed to the *Saheb Alishah*, the Judge. He would have proved by the evidence of fifty witnesses, that he had received, as his father had done before him from time out of mind, a fixed rate for every boat that arrived at the ghat—that the owner of the bazar was the oppressor, &c. &c., and the Magistrate's order would have been reversed. It is true, justice is a grand thing; but who can expect it without *judicial proof?*"

The descriptions which our hero gives, of various classes in the city of Kashi (Benares), are in every point of view highly important and interesting. Regarding them in a political point of view, they strikingly shew, how impotent in fact, how nearly a nonentity, British civil authority is for the purposes of Government, in the crowded cities of Hinduism. It will be seen, that many of the practices, described by our author, are entirely contrary to the feelings of mankind in general. Wherefore we hold that Government might safely use special means to suppress them: and, though it would require time, it is surely due to humanity, that each succeeding decad should record some new systematic attack, or prohibition, on the part of civilization against

* Read their petitions.

some one or other ancient cruelty of a degenerated superstition. The abolition of suttee and sitting dharna, ought not to have remained the sole triumphs of humanity for twenty years.

"It is not, perhaps, generally known, that in the ancient and 'holy city of *Kashi*, there have existed from time immemorial, 'and do exist at the present moment, several classes of men, 'who live by extorting, from the citizens and devout pilgrims, 'more than is sufficient to maintain them in the most recklessly profligate careers. They levy a regular and systematic '*black mail*' upon high and low, rich and poor. No rank or 'station is above their reach; and no person is so poor, as to be 'unable to afford these gentry profit, either by payments in 'coin, or by some kind of service. The wealthy *Babu*, the '*nouputti Mahajun*, the *Vakils*, the *Umlah*, the very *Munsiffs* 'and *Sudder Amins*, are subjected to their influence. For 'either by direct violence, or by a veneration for '*dustur*,' 'these worthies are coerced. I allude to the *Pundahs*, the '*Gunga Putras*, the *Ghatias*, the *Bhururias*, the *Dullals*; and 'to the whole tribe of carrion-crows, with which the city is infested, and under whose domination it groans. In attempting 'to expose the villainy and oppression of a class, I shall not 'stop to delineate individuals; for the law can reach them, when 'known. But my object is to show the public a body of miscreants, who, by their combination and the force of circumstances, defy all law; which, as an orderly, I am able to do 'from personal experience."

THE PUNDAHS, THE PRELATICAL ORDER OF BRAHMINISM.

"The '*Pundahs*,' in the holy city of *Kashi*, are the *prelates* 'of their priesthood; and, like every other calling in India, the 'sacred offices even are hereditary. They are not bound to 'celibacy. Their wealth is enormous. Their lives are a tissue 'of profligacy, arrogance, fraud and deceit; and as for morals, '*they never had any*.' Like the Papal pretensions of universal supremacy, they arrogate to themselves privileges, and 'superiority over the laity; and assert them with a haughtiness, 'exceeding that of *Thomas-a-Becket*. The daily offerings, 'at the celebrated temples and the shrines they contain, are 'collected by officiating priests, who account to the *Pundahs*. 'The annual income of the temples is enormous; for, like the 'Papal church, the Hindu system of religion allows of the 'compounding of every sin—from a peccadillo to homicide—'for a consideration: and, the greater the amount of guilt, the 'larger, of course, is the propitiatory offering, and the greater 'the profit of the priests. The ordinary ceremonials and sacra-'ficial rites are performed by the '*Pújáris*.' The *Pundah*

'officiates only on grand occasions, when some wealthy *Rajah*, 'or *Babu*, makes his advent in *Kashi*, and offers to propitiate 'the gods by an offering, in proportion to the enormity of his 'sins. Then, indeed, the satellites of the '*Sri Pundah Ji*' 'are on the alert; and desperate becomes the conflict of wits, 'between cupidity on one side, and superstition mixed with ava-'rice on the other.

"When His Highness, the Ex-Paishwa came to *Kashi*, after 'the death of his father, and solicited the *Pundah* of the great 'temple of *Vishiwur* to assist him in the fulfilment of his 'vows, he refused to do so, until the Maharajah should fill with 'coined silver the *houz*, or font of the temple. This was acced-'ed to; and it was found that one lakh and twenty-five thousand 'rupees were required for the purpose. A goodly breakfast, I 'ween, and sufficient for a time to stay the cravings of a morbid 'sacerdotal appetite! On other occasions, he is induced to 'attend the temple, when some zealous votary lures him thither, 'with the promise of an after-recreation, in which the choicest 'specimens of the sweet songstresses of Ind enrapture the senses, 'by their voluptuous song and dance. The *Pundahs*, like the 'elders of old, are connoisseurs of beauty; and those, who cannot 'afford the lure of wealth, make use of the lure of beauty, to in-'sure the honor of the *Pundah's* presence.

"The office of *Pundah* is hereditary; and, where the family 'has increased, a division of the profits of the temple proceeds 'is always made. Fierce contentions take place among the bro-'therhood for their shares; and then the-easily-gotten wealth of 'the *Pundahs* finds a channel for itself into the pockets of the 'Civil Courts. Tact and ability, however, render one of the 'parties superior to the others; and he becomes, in fact, *the* '*Pundah Ji*.

"Many a dark deed has been done, and is done, in the exten-'sive houses of these *Pundahs* and *Pujaris*. While the gong 'is loudly sounding, and scores of athletic priests are blowing '*sunkhs* in the numerous temples that are dotted about and 'around the houses, the last expiring shriek of some victim is, 'perhaps, suppressed by the noise. Disobedient '*chelas*,'* 'victims of jealousy, and unnatural crimes, die by slow torture, 'or poison, or famine. No intimation is, or can be, given to 'the police; for none but the initiated and privileged may enter 'these houses, sanctified by the numerous temples. And who, 'but the most devoted and trust-worthy, are ever permitted to see 'the dark places where crime is committed? It is believed gene-'rally, but I speak not from experience, (for being of the faith

* Domestic slaves; or sometimes, pupils.

'of *Islam*, I am not permitted to approach such places) that, in 'the innermost recesses of several temples, is a shrine dedicated 'to '*Devi*,' or '*Bhowani*,'—those infernal deities, whose 'delight is in blood,—where children of tender age are enticed, 'and offered upon certain occasions. Frequent are the reports 'made to the police, that children are missing: the informants 'suspect nobody, and no trace of the innocents is ever found. 'Can it be, that they are the victims of the horrible suspicion I 'have alluded to?

"A *Pundah* consulted some learned Brahmins about the horo-'scope of his infant son, his first-born. It was foretold, that the 'shadow of the child would press heavily upon the fortunes, and 'life of the father. The *Pundah* took the infant in his arms, and 'fondled it with apparent delight. On returning it to the mo-'ther's arms, it was a breathless corpse. He had squeezed 'the nape of the neck, to prevent the fulfilment of the horo-'scope! Some person, inimical to him, lodged a formal com-'plaint before the Magistrate: the Magistrate, after taking the 'deposition of the informant, summoned the *Pundah* to appear 'in person, and answer to the charge of infanticide. He evaded 'process for a long while; but, at last, was forced to appear 'before the *Huzúr*. But what can simple honesty of purpose 'in a Magistrate do against the combinations of wealth and 'venality? The *Pundah* was acquitted 'from want of judical 'proof.'"

THE GHATIAHS.

"I said that the '*Pundahs*' of the temples in '*Kashi*' are 'a curse to the city. How then shall I describe the '*Gungapu-'tras*' and '*Ghatiahs*' who, like a foul ulcer, are daily increas-'ing, and eroding the vitals of their deluded victims? From 'the *Burna Sungum ghat* to the *Assi*, a distance of some 'five miles, the bank of the Ganges is besprinkled with 'temples, *kutcha chubutras*, (raised earthen platforms) or 'wooden platforms, called *tukht-poshes*, that overlook the 'brink of the holy stream; and scarcely a cubit's length is 'left for a landing place, for boats and travellers. Every one 'of these *chubutras*, or *tukht-poshes*, is occupied by its proprie-'tor, who sits cross-legged, in the simple dignity of nudity, with 'his '*chundun*'* and flowers, mumbling out, in a measured and 'monotonous voice, the names of his favorite divinities. Every 'orthordox Hindu, as he comes out of the broad bosom of 'Gunga-mai, makes an offering to the *Ghatiah*; who, in 'return, marks his forehead with *chundun*, and pronounces a

* *Chundun*. An odoriferous dust of sandal wood.

'blessing on him. But when the bathers are foreigners, they 'are not permitted even to approach the stream, in places 'occupied by the *Ghatiahs*, until they pay down the sum 'demanded from them. Numerous are the petitions, given in to 'the Saheb Magistrate Buhadur, against these *Ghatiahs;* and 'frequently an order is passed to the police, to see that the com-'plainants are not prevented from taking a dip. In such cases, 'the *Ghatiahs* commence a volley of curses, the most foul and 'blasphemous that can be imagined. And what Hindu can 'stand out against the curses of a *Brahmin* and *a Ghatiah?* The 'bathers appeal to the police burkundazes; but they coolly say, '"We have no orders to prevent the *Ghatiahs* from speaking." 'If a small *douceur* be offered, it is indignantly rejected; and the 'bathers reflect, that, if a considerable gratuity is to be given, 'they had better conform to the '*dustur*,' and give it to the '*Ghatiahs*, as '*pun*.'"

But if, by Brahiminical curses, the Ghatiah prevents the devotee from bathing, he as much contravenes the order of the magistrate, as if he used personal violence: and it is a false gloss of the police to say, they "have no orders to prevent the Ghatiahs from speaking,"—the object of the order being to secure to the people the unmolested exercise of the sacred rite of bathing. The practice of the Ghatiahs, as described by our hero, is a common nuisance. The advantage, which they take of foreigners, is an oppression, against which Government ought to give protection, for the sake of peace and order, of its own authority, and even of civilization. This is not a question of tenets or belief, but of the right of the Hindu public, to perform the ablutions required by their own religion, in spite of impostors who tyrannize over them. Our author says, they appeal to the magistrate; and this proves, that the tyranny of the Ghatiahs is not sacred in popular estimation.

Our hero describes another curious method which the Ghatiahs have of exercising extortion, somewhat analogous to the sitting *Dhurna*, which Lord William Bentinck had the sagacity to see might safely be prohibited. It was accordingly enacted to be a crime, and is consequently now, we believe, become nearly obsolete. And this therefore affords one proof more, how much evil may be prevented, and how much good done, by authority, under the impulse and direction of an enlightened, liberal, and energetic mind. Yet after all, for what is it, in the cases alluded to, that the public feel such admiration and gratitude? For mere sagacity and good common sense, applied to the business of Government;—for measures of no marvellous kind, but simply springing from good general principles, and a real faith in

them. But to the old twenty-four, Hinduism is a bugbear, which frightens away the perception of the broad line, which separates the essential superstition, from mere abuses, which no religion can consecrate, among a people a single step advanced in civilization. But to our text, the Ghatiahs again.

"Some of these *Ghatiahs* go to the most distant provinces, 'and join a troop of pilgrims coming to Benares. Or they 'follow in the wake of some Rajah, or Babu, who has vowed to 'perform a tour of pilgrimages. The whole of the party are 'then dubbed his '*jijmans*' by the *Ghatiah*. He considers 'them under his special protection. No one else may take a 'fraction from them; and the *Ghatiah* and *his* partners alone 'reap the harvest. If other *Ghatiahs* interfere, serious affrays 'ensue; and the Magistrate is bewildered with their mutual 'complaints and recriminations. Suppose that the rich pilgrims 'choose to assert independence of will, and to make presents to 'other *Ghatiahs*, then the parties, who think themselves ag-'grieved, threaten to stab themselves in the presence of the pil-'grims; and, rather than be responsible for shedding the blood 'of a *Ghatiah*, they are fain to give in on any conditions."

THE GUNGAPUTRAS.

"The '*Gungaputras*' are sons of the Ganges, and exercise 'despotic sway in their domain of the '*Munkurnika*.' Their 'numbers are considerable; and, in the division of spoil, despe-'rate conflicts occur. But they know that union is strength; 'and consequently always combine to hunt the common prey— 'the Hindu public. The '*Munkurnika*' is a reservoir lined 'with flags of hewn stone, on the bank of the Ganges. During 'the rise of the river, it is filled with the sacred stream. Be-'sides which, a puny springlet dribbles into this basin from the 'landside, and, during the hottest season of the year, suffices 'to keep up a filthy puddle, rendered more and more impure by 'the daily immersion of hundreds: but nevertheless this filthy 'semi-fluid matter is looked upon by the Hindu as the purest 'of the pure,—the cleanser from sin and moral impurity. The '*Kundh*' (holy pool) is thronged every morning by votaries, each 'with his silver in hand, to bestow upon his *Gungaputra*, and 'eager to plunge into the basin of holy water. And who dares 'venture to take a dip in it without first obtaining the permis-'sion of the *Gungaputras?* He would run the risk of being 'beaten to death; or, of being found '*suffocated by accident*,' 'as he dipped into the *Kundh*."

* * * * * *

"These *Gungaputras* and *Ghatiahs* are generally the greatest

'*budmáshus*' (rascals) in the place. There is not a crime, or enormity, of which they are not suspected, and of which they are supposed to be incapable. Violent assaults on women and boys, with criminal intent, are common; but very few such cases are ever reported by the police; or, if reported, they are slurred over, and represented as '*tukrar-i-khufeef*' (trifling disturbances.) The assailants are protected by their wealth, and their position; and, unless the complainants can afford to pay more largely than the *Ghatiahs*, they are not likely to obtain redress. A common practice, among the more disreputable of these *Ghatiahs*, is to jostle a well-dressed woman, and to snatch from her nose or ears the golden jewel she wears. In dense crowds of thousands, cooped up in narrow thoroughfares, it is not easy to catch these miscreants; and if caught, they easily evade proof by giving the robbed jewel to their companions, who pass it from one to another, with the rapidity of thought."

There is nothing sacred in all this. It is repugnant to all the interests of the population. The authorities have no pretence for winking at it, on the principle of non-interference, or toleration. It is extortion, robbery, assassination, practised on boys and women, the most helpless and innocent of the population. Yet such is the state of things, connived at by the police, and unpunished by the tribunals.

THE AGHORPUNTS.

"The most loathsome sight at the *ghats* are the '*Aghorpunt fukeers*' (Anglice, Ogres);—practical philosophers, who affect to disbelieve that there is any difference between things, and who avow that any difference depends upon the imagination. A cuff, or a kick, is as immaterial to them as a blessing. They go about in *puris naturalibus*, with a fresh human skull in their hands, (off which they had previously eaten the putrid flesh, and from which afterwards, they had, with their fingers, scooped out the brain and eyes) into which is poured whatsoever is given them to drink. They pretend to be indifferent, whether it be ardent spirits, or milk, or foul water. Their food is the first thing that offers, whether it be a putrid corpse, cooked food, or ordure. With matted hair, blood-red eyes, and body covered with filth and vermin, the *Aghorpunt* is an object of terror and disgust to every body. He looks rather a wolf, ready to destroy and then devour his prey, than a human being. I once saw a wretch of this fraternity, eating the head of a putrid corpse; and, as I passed by, he howled and pointed to me; and then scooped out the eyes, and ate them before me! I had my matchlock in my hand,

'and was within an ace of putting a ball into his head, for I 'deemed him a wolf;—and, in fact, he was a brute.

"A Magistrate took up a monster of this sort, drinking liquor 'out of a bloody human skull. He was in a fearful state of 'intoxication, and had a kind of Malay Krís, a spiral dagger, 'about a cubit long,—a blow from which would have been death. 'The Magistrate had him taken up at once. On referring to the 'records of the office, it was ascertained that this wretch had 'been thrice imprisoned in jail, for rape, for assault amounting 'almost to homicide, and for being a vagrant. The Magistrate 'ordered him to furnish heavy security for his good behaviour, 'or, in default, to be imprisoned for three years. In all such 'cases, the Magistrate is bound to make a report to the Judge; 'who sent for the *misl* of the case, and released the *Aghorpunt*."

Here we have again the authority of the magistrate set aside by the next superior jurisdiction: through what influence is not suggested, but we may surmise, by that of the Umlahs, who profit by the debasement of the people. What were the grounds for this decision we know not; but, from the sequel, which we shall presently quote, it may be inferred, that they rested on the sacred character of the *Aghorpunt*. Our hero himself represents the tribe, as objects of popular veneration. Be it so; it by no means concludes the question of exercising a penal jurisdiction over them. Are not their habits, those of brutal savages, unfit to be tolerated in cities crowded with men, women, and children, the busy and the idle, of all ranks and classes, from all parts of Hindustan? Are not the acts imputed to them essentially criminal, and such as ought to be deemed so, by every civilized Government? Where is the plea of religion and toleration to stop, if it is to protect the Aghorpunts? But, as a fact, is it not true, as our author states, that they have been taken up, arraigned, tried, convicted, and imprisoned as criminals, without exciting any resentment on the part of the people? It may then safely be done: and, this point conceded, it is impossible to deny that it is expedient to be done; and, if the law gives the magistrate such a jurisdiction, his decision ought to be final. Our hero concludes—

"Should not such monsters in human shape be incar- 'cerated for life as a disgrace to humanity? Or would the 'precepts of Islam not sanction the wholesale slaughter of such 'brutes? But the Hindus themselves look upon the *Aghor-* '*punts* with veneration; and none of them would dare to drive 'him away from their doors. Strange infatuation in a people,— 'to worship incarnations of the divinity in every bestial shape, 'and to respect men even lower than the brutes!"

If such be gods, let them keep to the divine form; but, if they

assume the human, let them be incarcerated; and, from a full persuasion of what human nature is, whether in Hindu, or Christian,—we mean, as respects the great body of the people, of all, in short, except the millionth fraction,—we feel convinced that the justice of such a measure will be felt and acquiesced in by all; and thus a step gained for civilization.

Our author conducts us from the police court to the city, from the city to the ghat, again to the law courts, to the collector's office, to the village, the mart, the raj-ghur, through such a diversity of scenes, places, incidents, and events, and all so amusing or instructive, that we find selection difficult. Turning from grave to gay, let a lively picture now compensate for our previous disquisitions.

BULBHUDDHUR SING PERSONATES A RAJAH: TAKES A GREAT HOUSE: GETS A TREASURER; AND DECAMPS AT NIGHT WITH HIS PLUNDER.

"A common mode of swindling in the city of *Kashi* (Benares), 'as practised by the clever *budmashes*, is, for one of the party to 'personate a Rajah, on a visit of ceremony to the holy city; 'while his companions pretend to precede him, and hire a stately '*huweli* (house) in '*Dal-ke-Munduvi*,' which they furnish for the 'nonce. *Bulbhuddur Singh* sits in state as *Rajah Guchpuch* '*Rae*, bedecked in false gems, and dressed in shawls and *kim-* 'khabs (anglice, *kingcobs*). His retainers go about the city, and 'entice shawl-merchants and jewellers to the Rajah's house. 'They arrive with costly wares, and eagerly proceed to expose 'them: but the Rajah turns an indifferent eye upon them, and 'declares they are not sufficiently choice for *him*. The *Souda-* 'gurs (traders) promise to return next day. In the mean time, 'the song and dance proceed with fierce rivalry. Six sets of the 'best dancing women exert their lungs and limbs, and go 'through every fascinating movement, to delight and amuse '*Rajah Guchpuch Rae*. Where is my treasurer? exclaims the 'Rajah; bid him bestow a largess of 100 *Ushrufis** on these 'soul-enslaving terrestrial houries. A retainer, after going 'through the farce of a search, respectfully approaches his 'Highness, and intimates that the treasurer has not yet arrived. 'The *nimukharam, beh-hyah!*† exclaims the Rajah. Here, 'fellows, see that a proper treasurer be in attendance on the 'morrow, to whom we shall deliver our treasure, and *tosheh-kha-* 'nah.‡ The Rajah enjoys himself, until no longer able to sustain

* A gold coin, worth about 32 shillings.

† *Nimukharam, beh hyah.* The shameless one, unfaithful to salt.

‡ Wardrobe, or furniture.

'excitement; and then the *gundrupias* retire, and the torches 'are extinguished.

"Next day, there are several candidates for the honor of the 'treasurer's office, who eagerly offer to serve. The salary is 200 'rupees a month, says the Rajah, and I hate accounts; constant 'attendance and implicit obedience are all I acquire. After 'rejecting some, His Highness fixes upon *Lalla Umbeka Suhai*, 'who receives a well-worn shawl as a *khillut*, and an immense 'key. He ventures to ask, where the treasury is? And is told 'to wait until the *huzrut* has leisure to shew it to him. In the 'mean time, the Rajah suddenly recollects that he has immediate 'occasion for 1,000 rupees, and he shouts out: 'Here, Buha-'dur, take 1,000 rupees from *Lalla Umbeka Suhai*, and give 'it to *Bisheshur Singh*; and be sure to take a receipt for the 'money. Tell him it is the price of a ring, I bought of him, for 'my favorite *Gulbehar*.' *Buhadur* asks the treasurer for the 'money. The poor man looks aghast, and shews a huge key as 'all he has received of the Rajah's treasure. But *Buhadur* 'tells him, that *Rajah Guchpuch Rae* never fails to cut off the 'ears of a disobedient servant. So the hint is taken; and the '*Lalla* gives an order on his *shroff* in the city for the amount. 'Of course *Buhadur* at once proceeds to realise the money. As 'evening approaches, shawl-merchants and jewellers again ap-'pear, and press their wares on the Rajah. They see *Lalla Um-'beka Suhai*, figuring as treasurer. They are old acquaintances, 'and they ask him the amount of *Guchpuch Rae's* treasure. In 'reply to which, he simply shews *the* key, about a foot in length. 'The merchants open out their wares to entice the Rajah; but 'he says, he will wait until all his things arrive. They offer to 'leave their bundles for the Rajah and his ladies to choose from; 'which is agreed to with apparent indifference. The song and 'dance proceed as usual until midnight, when, as usual, the 'torches are extinguished.

"Next morning, what a change has taken place! One old man 'is seated at the doorway, dosing over a *chillum* of *ganjah*. 'No other sign of life is visible in *Rajah Guchpuch Rae's* 'palace. The treasurer arrives first, opens, and rubs his eyes, 'and asks the old man, where the Rajah and his people have 'gone. He replies, that they decamped before dawn. In due 'course, the *Mahajuns*, the jewellers, and the birds of song arrive; 'but nothing of the Rajah is to be found; and smoke-stain-'ed walls, and filth and litter about the rooms, alone betray that 'revelry *had been* there! The jewellers and *Mahajuns* turn in 'wrath upon *Lalla Umbeka Suhai*, and tax him with having 'aided to cheat them. They proceed first to abuse, and then

'to beat him. In vain the poor man shews the huge key, and 'laments his thousand rupees lost for ever. They drag him 'to the kotwal, and charge him with having cheated them; and 'the defrauded treasurer remains in durance vile for a week at 'least, and gets off at last, on proving himself to be one of the 'victims of this system of swindling, and after feeing the police 'myrmidons pretty roundly.

"Who is ever to find out what worthy personated *Rajah 'Guchpuch Rae*, when hundreds and thousands of travellers 'are daily passing to and fro the holy city?"

Long though it be, we cannot withhold from our readers the following animated picture of

THE GHATS AT BENARES, DURING AN ECLIPSE.

"Have any of my readers had the curiosity to visit the ghats, 'during the occurrence of an eclipse of the sun or moon? If 'not, I would urge them to go once on such an occasion. 'The living tide, that keeps pouring in from all the principal 'roads into the city some time before the event, is of itself an 'imposing and interesting spectacle. The human wave, as it 'rolls along the streets, gains accession from every lane and bye-'way, and is at once amassed upon the banks of the holy 'stream, the *ultima thule* of the grand struggle. The eternal 'hum,—the shout,—the struggles, as the strong push away the 'weak to open a passage for themselves, afford a vast field for 'study to the contemplative. Then again the variety of cos-'tume, and the draperies of every possible hue, captivate the atten-'tion of those, who delight in the philosophy of dress. But, above 'all, the enormous crowd brought to a stand still;—the living 'mass squeezed together in a small space,—at once conveys to 'the mind the enormous fecundity of the human species. Con-'template them closely, and, if you have been accustomed to 'read human nature, you will see in every face expressions of 'the feelings that are ruling within. Philosophers of every 'shade might, at such gatherings, find subjects for study and 'instruction. But let me now leave generalities, and enter into 'particulars.

"Look at the crowd: the struggle yonder shows that an 'official, and a rich native gentleman, are pushing forward. The 'one is mounted in a tonjon; the other is on horseback; the 'troop of people running with switches in their hands are their 'followers; they are striking the feet of the rabble, shouting '*'furuk, furuk,'** but still they cannot penetrate the crowd. The

* Be off! be off!

'horseman is obliged to stop, and the tonjon is forced up, from 'the shoulders of the bearers, upon the heads of the crowd, 'with the occupant, in a perilous position.

"Suppose you have managed to reach the *Munkurnika ghat* 'in safety. By all means have a boat ready there for your re- 'ception; hasten on board; take an elevated position, that 'you may compass as much of the spectacle on shore as pos- 'sible, and drop down the river leisurely. What do you see? 'A vast concourse of living heads upon the surface of the water, 'bobbing up and down in alternate succession; and, oh horror! 'among them, several loathsome corpses gyrating in the eddies 'made by the bather:—nor are they shunned, although the efflu- 'via from them is sufficiently powerful to kill a horse. There 'a young girl rises from her immersion, and finds a dead body 'in her arms; she transfers it without any sign of disgust to 'an octogenarian female neighbour, whose charms have long 'been veiled over by a net work of wrinkles, and who now sees 'an emblem of what she is soon likely to be; but she loathes 'it not;—she passes it on with becoming civility.* Now, you 'see a stout, upright man, the very figure head of a sepoy, with 'a mannikin, perhaps two years old, seated on his shoulder, 'holding on like grim death by the hair of his father's head, 'while the elderly gentleman gives him a dip to his great de- 'light, although not free from the chances of suffocation. 'Nor are the scenes along the ghats solemn, and purely cere- 'monial. Love has its dominion here also, but in its gro- 'tesque and primitive shape. Behold yonder are a group of 'beautiful nymphs, gracing the chocolate-coloured stream, like 'rich lotuses in full bloom. Mark that young man with a smooth 'brow and athletic frame; he has been viewing the nymphs for 'some time: he can no longer resist their charms; he dives; now 'he rises among them: he looks smilingly upon them all, and 'then gravely utters his apology, with mock solemnity—*usha- 'nan kea, pushanan kea, to nam lea permeshur ka,—bom, bom, 'bom.* (So! bathing, worshipping). One girl ventures to look 'at him, and seeing that he is a love of a man, returns his 'glance, and inadvertently drops a flower; he picks it up, 'and keeps it as a token. Now, for some fun:—the *che- 'valiers d'Industrie* are busy yonder. Do you see the group 'of females bedecked with costly jewels, bathing as if it were 'by themselves; see that girl taking a dip,—a nimble-fingered 'gentleman dives simultaneously: the nymph rises suddenly

* *Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus!* Here our friend Paunchkouri nods. No Hindu will touch a dead body, unless compelled by necessity or irresistible force.

'*mayah! re mayah! mere nuthni gye* (Mother, mother, my nose-'ring is gone). This attracts attention; but the spoiler escapes. 'You hear another scream soon after, *dayah-re-dayah! mere* '*bali gye* (Nurse, nurse, my earrings are gone):—sure enough 'her pendants were gone: there stands one with a nose rent 'to the nostril, and the other with bleeding ears. But this 'is nothing—often has the female entire been carried off, for the 'sake of what she had on her person, and the *muggur* (alligator) 'gets credit for the abduction. The riflers are expert divers; and 'are sure to emerge in a crowd of bathers unperceived, roaring '*bom, bom, Mahadeo,* a sort of thanksgiving for the furtive success.

"Dropping down, you have a splendid panoramic view of the 'stone ghats and buildings, the minarets, observatory, musjids, 'and everything that renders Benares remarkable. You then 'proceed to *Burna Sungum,* where the crowd is, perhaps, most 'dense. Here the same farce of ceremonials is going on as else-'where, and the same plunder is as active as ever, under all man-'ner of ingenious contrivances; but this ghat is most remarkable 'for the scene which occurred there some years ago. The river 'had been insidiously undermining it for several years: on 'that occasion, the weight of the crowd was more than it could 'bear, and it suddenly gave way, carrying hundreds and hundreds 'of helpless beings into the jaws of death. Nor was this all, the 'alarmed multitude made a retrograde movement, and thousands 'were crushed under the tread of the panic struck crowd. The 'police reported that one thousand individuals had perished: 'but the officials like to deal with even and low numbers; it is a 'convenient way of stripping horror of its disgusting features.

"Such events furnish rare opportunities for the gentlemen, who 'live by their wits, to practice their dexterity, and earn their ut-'most. Bangles, earrings, armlets, and nose-rings, disappear, 'as well from the persons of the living as from the bodies of the 'dead; females generally are the victims. How the things are 'carried off, and by whom, is a profound mystery.

"One brawny fellow is carrying the body of a young woman, 'carefully wrapped from head to foot, bewailing the unfortu-'nate and untimely death of his sister. The crowd respectfully 'make way. He carries her to the nearest unfrequented spot, 'and lays her down. She is stone dead, and her nose, ears, 'arms, and feet, are all stripped of their ornaments. No longer 'useful to the dead, he leaves the corpse on that spot, and goes 'to seek for the living—a wife, or, perhaps, some other female 'relative; but where is she? alas, also gone; he becomes consci-'ous of another bereavement, and is plunged in the depths of 'misery, and perhaps, becomes the immediate victim of lacerated

'feelings. Alas, poor Hindu! had you no well of clear water 'in your vicinity, to purify yourself and family with?

"A curious story is yet told of a *dome*, who flourished and was 'finished, in the days of '*Junab William Welburfurs Burrud* 'Saheb Buhadur.' He was a most expert diver. One day, 'while loitering for prey at the *Munkurnika ghat*, where the 'family of a rich *Mahajun* were bathing, he espyed among 'them a woman richly decorated with jewels. In a moment he 'contrived to get into the river, and, after playing about accord-'ing to his wont, he dived and disappeared: the jewelled lady 'also disappeared: neither the one, nor the other, was seen to 'rise again, and her friends were under the impression that 'some fierce alligator had taken a fancy to her, and perpetrated 'an elopement. Several days afterwards, a devout person, who 'cleansed himself of his sins in the river, and was just stepping 'out on shore, accidentally put his foot under a stone step, and 'there felt something soft. He was immediately filled with sus-'picions, and communicated his alarm to others. Some *domes* 'were sent for, and the body extricated from its cell: it was the 'remains of the *Mahajun's* lady, denuded of all her costly orna-'ments. Suspicion rested on no one; but the *dome* who had 'committed the horrid outrage, was, some months afterwards, 'detected offering the jewels for sale; they were recognised as 'the property of the deceased; the *dome* confessed, and ex-'piated his crime on the gallows."

Thus successfully does crime revel and riot on the holidays, and religious days of the people: and it does not appear that the magistrate much concerns himself about the matter. Our author next discourses on the *Ghat Majhis, ghat and ferry thikadars*, and the *Chouduris* of *hackeries*, whom he describes as "the heads of guilds and corporations:" "they are," he says "as 'great curses to the community as any other of the thousand 'ills under which it groans Frequently and anxiously the 'magistrates have tried to devise plans for the prevention of 'oppression; but the best concerted schemes have failed, from 'the extraordinary reverence for *the dustur* (custom), to which 'the natives of this country bow with as much reverence, as they 'do to their priests. Where proof of oppression can be pro-'duced by a complainant, punishment will necessarily follow. 'But I confess that no *preventive* measures occur to me." We will venture to suggest some, or rather some *principles*, which must form the basis of them. The chief object must be to break up these so-called "guilds and corporations;" and the first step obviously is, to withdraw all legal and public privileges from them: to open their business, as far as practicable, to

competition, and to protect the competitors: to substitute freedom of trade, in short, for monopoly, whether existing by the sanction of *dustur*, or of Government. Some of these classes have Government monopolies, as appears by our author's shewing; for example, in the case of the *ferry thikadars*, our author says, "the ferries of every large river are annually farmed to the 'highest bidder, on condition that he keep a sufficient number of 'good boats properly manned at every ferry:" and we are further told, that fixed rates are authorized by the magistrate; "nevertheless, it is a universal complaint that the farmers of the 'ferries are the greatest extortioners:" and their boats are often such, according to our hero's description, as no rat would stay in; yet we are told that if a complainant does come forward to expose a public abuse, he is worried in all sorts of ways, and exhausted for his pains, besides being out of pocket. Now, to us it appears, that so far from this evil being irremediable, there are half a dozen ways, by any one of which, probably, it might be corrected. One certainly is to protect and multiply the landing places, abolish the thikadar, free the ferry, and open the transit trade to competition. Another might be to keep up Government ferry boats, giving a free passage, and to establish a sufficient superintendence to secure the proper performance of the duty. With proper superintendence, the duty might be better performed, even under the present system. Correct the judicial system; according to our author, its habitual, invariable action is to screen the thikadar from punishment. By the evidence of our hero, the thikadar is always, and is known by the magistrate to be, a very great scoundrel; but, by the grace of law and police, he is always let off, and triumphs over the complainants. But we will give our hero's description of the state of things.

THE FERRIES, HOW THEY ANSWER AS A GOVERNMENT MONOPOLY.

"The ferries of every large river are annually farmed to the 'highest bidder, on condition that he keep a sufficient number 'of good boats properly manned at every ferry.....

"Some European recruits were crossing the river at Rajghat; 'and my master, the *Nazir Saheb*, was directed to be in attendance, and to see that no useless delays occurred. I accompanied him of course. We saw large boats, with about fifty 'Europeans on board, each worked across the river, merely by 'the swinging motion of the rudder. On landing the men, the 'boatman was pushing off, but the *Nazir* called out to me to 'seize him. I did so. 'Where are the three boatmen, you

'scoundrel, as directed in your pottah?' said the enraged *Nazir*. 'The *Gorah log** so hurried us, that my two oars-men did not 'come up in time.' Upon this I was desired to give him some 'gentle admonitions, which I did, in the shape of sundry hard 'boxes on the face, and some kicks on his '*Western parts*.' 'We watched other boats as they came to the ghat, but, in almost 'all, there was a great deficiency of *danrís* (boatmen). 'Go, 'PAUNCHKOURI,' said the *Nazir* to me, 'and drag that fellow *Gun-* 'put Singh to me. I will take him before the *Huzur*, and get 'his *ijarah* (lease) cancelled, for thus endangering the safety of 'the *Kumpani Ka Gora*.' I joined in the virtuous indignation 'of the *Nazir*, and proceeded to *Gunput's* house. 'Come in, 'BHAI PAUNCHKOURI KHAN,' said the wily farmer, 'and take a 'chillum of delicious *ganjah*.' But I was not to be caught so 'easily, and I began to bluster and to threaten to collar the 'farmer. 'Oh! my friend,' he said, 'have a moment's pati- 'ence. I had forgot to repay you the five rupees, I owe you 'for a tulwar I bought from you. Here is the money.' I felt 'the full force of his persuasive rhetoric, and, pocketing the 'money, began smoking the *chillum* pleasantly. After a time, '*Gunput* asked me, why he had been sent for? I explained. ''Is that all?' he said, 'I will settle it at once.' He accompanied 'me to the *Nazir*, and most obsequiously salámed him The 'Nazir commenced a volley of abuse, in which kind mention 'of the farmer's sister and daughter was made. But the farmer 'of the ferries, without moving a muscle of his countenance, 'put a little *chit* into the *Nazir's* hand; and it was wonderful to 'observe the sedative influence of that slip of paper. The '*Nazir* and the *Ijaradar* went away from the ghat, I following 'in astonishment; and a report was made to the *Huzur*, that 'the *Gora log* had crossed over without accident.

"It was during the height of the floods, in the month of 'August, that a ferry boat was observed, rushing down the 'river with frightful rapidity. There were about seventy- 'five human beings on board; and the water was scarce- 'ly six inches from the edge of the boat. There were but 'two boatmen, one at the helm, and the other at an oar. The 'boat got into an eddy, and the strength of the boatmen was 'unequal to extricate her. She went round once, canted 'over, head foremost, and not a vestige of boat, or of the passen- 'gers, was there! The farmer of the ferries was fined for his 'neglect, in not seeing to the efficiency of his boats. But was 'that punishment at all sufficient for the loss of so many lives?

* White people, European soldiers.

'Surely a case of this kind may be construed into *homicide* '*from neglect*, and should be punishable by several years' im-'prisonment."

Thus, then, we see that, in the case of the farmers of ferries, the reverence of the natives for *dustur* is not the cause of the evil. Though the natives have the feeling, that custom is a law, and a safeguard to them; yet any particular dustur of commerce has no essential hold on them. Prove it to be an evil; perhaps they may not know how, or, may not have the energy, to emancipate themselves;—but set the choice before them, and we will answer for present interest being preferred to all other things. If then *dustur* has its monopoly ghat (we now allude to the alleged privileges of the *ghat manji*); near it establish another, where the manji's *dustur* shall be prohibited. It would then soon be seen, whether the so-called *dustur* be really an extortion and abuse, or the just reward of useful service and labour. For ourselves, we take its character from our author, but we entirely dissent from his opinion, that such abuses must last for ever. What must always be, must always have been: but, what ought not to be, cannot be of nature, but is arbitrary or accidental.

We cannot forbear extracting our hero's account of the *choudhuris* of hackeries. Like the *ghat manjis*, they are a class, who seem to have established an exclusive command, or monopoly, of hackeries for the purpose of commerce. The choudhuris are not hackery drivers themselves, but the procurers of hackeries. Is the tone, in which our hero speaks of them, an error or prejudice? or are these agencies, *choudhuris*, *ghat manjis*, *churandahs*, the natural, or ordinary contrivances, or results, of freedom, in the employment of the different kinds of labour? Our own belief to the contrary notwithstanding, we commend enquiry on this point to the political economist and social philosopher. Meanwhile hear what our hero says:—

"The *choudhuris of hackeries* are great men in their way, and 'are the occasion of much annoyance to the lieges. At every '*'uddah'* (stand), and in every market square, an emissary 'of the *choudhuri* attends, to look after his master's interests. 'When hackeries are required by *soudagurs* and *mahajuns*, 'these *choudhuris* are the parties who provide them They are 'rather moderate in their requisitions from the proprietors of 'carts, and limit their *dusturi* to only two annas in the rupee—'being *one-eighth!* When hackeries are required for the public 'service, and an order for impressing them is passed by the 'Magistrate and Commissariat, *then* is the *choudhuri* in his 'glory. Travellers, with their wives and children, are summarily

'dismounted, and, with their property, lodged under the first 'convenient tree; strings of carts laden with grain are taken 'possession of, and the contents lodged on the road-side. No 'complaints are listened to; and, unless *oil of palms* is freely 'used to slip out of the clutches of the press-gang, escape 'is impossible. For every ten carts ordered for the public service, 'a hundred at least are pressed. Why? you ask in your inno-'cence. Oh! happy ignorance! Suppose you have ten good 'carts, with three bullocks to each: the feed of thirty bullocks 'cannot be less than four rupees a day. Or, we will suppose that 'servants and all come to five rupees a day. Now suppose the 'owner to be a bumptious fellow, that will not fork out. He is 'trotted backwards and forwards, first to the Kotwali; then to 'the Sudder bazar; then to the *Saheb Kumusariat*. He is not 'paid a fraction, until the troops march; and he may be a fort-'night or three weeks, feeding his cattle and his servants, '*bey 'khyr khwah-i-kumpani*, (without the company's favour, or pay).' 'Now the moment he was pressed, had he had the sense to 'have slipped twenty rupees into the *choudhuri's* hand, or half 'that sum into the hand of the *burkundazes*, he would, I 'conceive, have been a considerable gainer. Do you twig?"

The important facts to be observed here are, first, what the *soudaghurs* and *mahajuns* (traders and merchants) pay; and secondly, the oppressions practiced in obtaining a supply of carriage for Government. From the statement, it may be inferred, first, that capital has not yet been applied to the establishment of the regular business of carriers; therefore, secondly, carriage for commerce can only be obtained by withdrawing it from agriculture, which appears to be a great oppression to the tiller of the land; and, thirdly, that when Government has a demand for carriage, it employs an agency of the most atrociously oppressive character; which our author likens to the English "press-gang," but, in so doing, libels, we must say, that service. The Company's press-gang impresses many hundred per cent. more than is authorized.

Our hero relates, with considerable minuteness, the circumstances of a conspiracy to overturn the British Government, which ended in a State trial, and an acquittal of the suspected (guilty) parties. His reflections on this result, and the imputed motives of it, appear to us suggestive of much, that no eye is permitted to see, nor ear to hear, of smothered discontents and dangers, known only to Government.

"However, the knowing ones were of opinion, that the ac-'quittal of the prisoners was a political dodge: and, under the 'circumstances, the wisest course that could have been pursued.

'To have brought conviction home to the prisoners, would have 'been to shew the people of Hindustan, that the Sirdars and 'Zemindars, who were fostered by the *Kumpani*, were eager 'for a change of rulers; that the police officials and the sepoys 'of the *jungi pultuns* (war regiments) were unfaithful to their '*salt;* and that *Moulvi Rahut Ali*, and others like him, who had 'been honored with important revenue and judicial trusts, were 'ready to turn upon the *Kumpani's* Government. It was sufficient 'that the conspiracy had been suppressed in the bud, and that the 'parties implicated were known. And it was good policy to let 'the world know, that the *Kumpani Buhadur* did not doubt 'the fidelity of her army."

Our hero having concluded his revelations respecting the police, magistracy and criminal courts, proceeds to the revenue department: and opens this interesting and important subject with the following introduction:—

"I have 'said my say' as to matters in *Fouzdari* (the police;) 'and shall now give my readers a few revelations in the *revenue* 'department of the state. This, as well as the police, comes home to 'every man's door. The *Putwari** (collecting) system; the *Muhuk-* '*ma-Commissioner-kurk*;† the *Quanungos*;‡ the *Suzáwuls*;§ the '*Tuhsildars*,‖ and *Peshkars*;¶ the *Sheristadar* and his satellites 'are all deserving of notice. The *revenue settlements*, and the 'ordinary and extraordinary ways and means, whereby the offi- 'cials make money, and the Zemindars and *puttids* (holders of 'leases) lose their estates; all these are worthy of prominent men- 'tion. I have been myself a humble ryot, and have felt the inso- 'lence and oppression of the 'Jacks in office.' I have had the 'produce of my little field, which, with the labor of my wife and 'little ones, I had matured, and expected to reap, attached and 'sold, despite my complaints to the *Hakims*. But my office 'of '*Nazir's Orderly*' has shewn me strange scenes, which it 'shall be my business to describe faithfully to my fellow-ryots, 'as a beacon to prevent them from suffering from the oppres- 'sions carried on under the sanction of the law; and as a duty 'to my present employers, the *Saheb Kumpani Buhadur*, whose '*nimuk-purwurdah* (salt-eater) I am, to prevent them from sanc- 'tioning such under false coloring. The *Saheban Alishan* little 'dream of the hundreds of ways, in which grinding oppression is 'practised under their very noses. Be they ever so vigilant, they

* *Putwari system.* The system under which the land rents of the villagers are collected.

† *Muhukma-Commissioner-kurk.* Land Commissioner who makes seizures.

‡ *Quanungo.* Accountant. § *Suzawul.* The Government native collector.

‖ *Tuhsildar.* Petty collector. ¶ *Peshkar.* Inferior registrar.

'are deceived by the native officials; and, it is only by some 'lucky chance, that they stumble upon the practices, which pervert the intentions of justice. If they be ever so clear-sighted, 'they are made to see through the eyes of others. How is this 'possible? you indignantly ask—are not the Civil Servants of 'the Government, the elite of England? Are they not, some of 'them, acknowledged to be the most talented men of the country? Has not this class furnished some of the ablest statesmen 'in the world? All this I acknowledge. But what can they 'do? I have stood behind the chair of the *Collector Saheb*, 'and I have seen him absolutely unable to go through the 'official drudgery of the day. I have seen him defer a case, day 'after day, in the vain hope that he would find time for investigating it thoroughly. But, alas! such leisure could not be 'found. I have seen his subordinate European officials similarly puzzled with work. How then can you be surprised, 'that these gentlemen are obliged frequently to let their decisions, pass under the force of circumstances they cannot 'overcome, in order to shew a good *nuksa* to the Board? Hence, 'I say, they require promptings, from people who are behind the 'scenes."

The first case decribed by our hero is that of himself, when a poor ryot. He had had possession of five bigahs (about two acres) of land for upwards of fifteen years, and his progenitors had had possession of the same for upwards of half a century. They had never paid more than two rupees per bigah, or ten rupees per annum, to the old Zemindar, and they were of a class of tenants (khoodkust) not liable to have their rent raised: but *Bulbhuddhur Singh* had purchased the village by private sale, and had served all the *asamis* (tenants) with a notice to quit, or to pay four rupees per bigah. "I went," says our hero, "to the *Dipty Saheb*, and gave in an *uzudari*, (petition), and after hearing both sides, the *Dipty Saheb* ruled that *Bulbhuddur Singh* was merely *kubáladar* (a purchaser;) that, as such, he was merely a *kaemmukam* (locum tenens) of the Zemindar, and could not legally demand enhancement of rent from a *khoodkust ryot*, and that even were he a *nilamdar* (auction purchaser) under the revenue sale law, he was debarred by Reg. 5, 1812, and Act 1 of 1845, which expressly declares "that no auction purchaser shall have the power to enhance the rate of *khoodkust chupperbund asamis*."

Without doubt the khoodkust ryot has by right a valuable and unalterable tenure: and this exposition of it by the *Dipty Saheb* assured our hero of safety. "But lo!" says he "no sooner was my field ripe for the sickle, than a fellow put into

my hands a dirty bit of paper, with unintelligible Nagri characters written therein, which he verbally told me was the *Putwari's wasil-baki* (rent collector's rent bill), shewing that I owed *Bulbhuddur Singh* the sum of ten rupees! I could not read, so I took the paper in great dismay to a *Lallah* (writer) in the next village, and he read it for me."

Recollecting the prompt justice rendered to him before, our hero again resorted to the *Dipty Saheb* and loudly demanded justice: *Dohai! dohai! Dipty Saheb.* "'Fool,' said the Dipty, 'what are you bawling yourself hoarse for? I can listen to nothing unless you present a petition on stamped paper.' 'But, Sir,' I urged, 'my crops are distrained; my wife and children will starve, unless speedy justice be rendered. And from whence shall I get funds to purchase a stamp, and pay for engrossing the petition?' All that I could get for my pains was, to be turned out of the room for my importunity."

The poor ryot (our hero) sells his *pugri* (turban) to buy a stamped paper, and get a petition written on it; and, fondly conceiving it would have melted a heart of stone, he presented it next day. "The *Dipty Saheb* at once passed an order to 'this effect:—The petitioner is at liberty to give security to the 'Kubáladar for the amount of distress; or deposit the money 'in the treasury, and then to institute a *bejah korki* suit (a suit 'for wrongful seizure). Ordered, that the petition be *dakhil* '*duftur* (put into the office).

"'But, *Junab-i-alí!*' I entreated, 'I sold my very pugri to 'enable me to present a petition on stamped paper to your honor, 'and do you call this redress? I ask the prophet to witness 'that the demand is unjust and illegal; and you desire me to 'deposit fifteen rupees. Where, in the name of the prophet, 'shall I get that sum?' But the *Dipty Saheb* plainly told me 'that he was helpless, and, that unless I did as he directed, he 'could give me no redress. Finding myself *lachar* (helpless), 'I borrowed fifteen rupees from the village *Mahajun*, at the 'rate of four pice per mensem interest, upon each rupee, or '75 *per cent. per annum!* (read this, ye ghosts of usurers; 'and learn a lesson from the unsophisticated, mild Hindu!) and 'deposited the money, and had my crops released for the nonce 'from the *distress.*"

Here we find a combination of real causes, all having the same tendency to destroy the ryot's rights of tenure; and not one countervailing check in his favor. First, we have the exposition of right, and in the ryot's favor; but, being given without expence, nugatory. On the other hand, we have the Zemindar, armed with the power to enforce his own views, without a pre-

vious decree in his favor. Then when the ryot comes for justice, he finds it can be had only on conditions as cruel as his merciless Zemindar. He submits: he institutes a suit for an illegal distress: let our hero describe the further progress of the case. He has a very moving petition drawn out; and it is decided, as a summary suit, by the *Dipty Saheb* in his favor.

"But lo!" says he "a month afterwards, I was served with a 'notice from the *Munsiff's* Court, intimating that *Bulbhudder* 'Singh had complained against me for the amount of annual 'malguzari, (rent) praying the court to authorize his charging me 'four rupees a bigah, or twenty rupees for my *jot* (cultivation) per 'annum. I went to *Situl Purshad*, and asked him to write a petition 'for me; but he told me that this was a *lumburi moqudduma* '(tedious case), and that I must consent to undergo considerable 'expense, and to employ a regular *Vakil* (pleader). I was in des-'pair. I had not a rupee in the world; so I was obliged to pledge 'my pair of oxen to the village *mahajun*, to raise funds for the de-'fence of this suit. But I rested my hopes on the blessed pro-'phet, and the *insaf* (justice) of the *Hukiman-i-Adalut*."

"My *vakil* recapitulated the arguments used by the *Dipty* 'Saheb, and quoted a host of regulations and *kantractions*. 'But the *Munsiff* merely asked the *Putwari*, whether the *itila-'namah* (notice) had been served upon PAUNCHKOWRI agreeably 'to Regulation V. of 1812? To this, the *Putwari* replied in 'the affirmative. I myself did not deny it, but produced a copy 'of the *Dipty's rubukari*, in which the notice itself was pro-'nounced illegal. But the *Munsiff* threw away the *rubukari* 'with contempt—'*Koun Dipty Kulluctur? our koun Hakim-i-'Adalut Dewani?*' (Oh ye Gods! Does he pretend to com-'pare the *Dipty's* contemptible intellects with mine?) The '*Munsiff* then asked the *Putwari*, whether the lands of my *jot* 'were capable of paying four rupees a bigah, and what were 'the general rates of the district? The *Putwari* submited 'that my *jot* was worth five rupees a bigah; that was the 'average rate of the village. The *Munsiff* decreed for *Bulbhud-'der*,—casting me, and declaring me liable to pay four rupees 'a bigah in future. My *vakil* advised me to appeal; but I 'stared stupidly in his face. 'Do not you understand me, 'friend?' he said; 'appeal to the *Saheb Judge Buhadur*, and you 'will be righted. The *Munsiff* has warped the law from fear of '*Bulbhudder*; and the Judge Saheb will reverse his decree.' ''Oh *vakil*,' I answered, 'where, in the name of the prophet, 'am I to get more money to fight with *Bulbhudder?* I have 'sold my oxen; I have lost my cause; I shall be ousted out of 'house and home,—and you tell me to appeal! Could appeals

'be heard without putting us poor *ryots* to ruinous expense, 'they would be salutary; but as matters are, the *long purse* '*will always carry the day against a poor man.*'"

When the next *kist* (instalment) became due, *Bulbhudder* brought a summary suit for it at the enhanced rate, before the *Dipty Saheb*. "When," says our hero,

"I appeared in person, and confessed that the *Munsiff* had 'decreed against me, and that *Bulbhudder's* cause was a good 'one this time. 'Do you intend appealing,' quoth the *Saheb?* ''No, sir,' I replied; 'I give in, and only pray that my *jot* may 'be given to any one else. If *Bulbhudder* will release me of 'all claims, I will resign my *jot*.' God and the prophet know, 'that the *Saheban Alishan* have a peculiar mode of adminis-'tering their own laws. One *Hakim* passes an order to a 'certain effect, and another passes one diametrically opposite to 'it. Both fancy themselves to be right; either the laws are 'enigmas, or the administrators are over-instructed in them. 'God help us poor *ryots*."

The statement of this case discloses several facts which deserve to be noted. First, the want of all special means to secure to the ryot class, the many valuable tenures belonging to them, which are repeatedly recognized in the Government Regulations. This is a great and just impeachment of the humanity, and, perhaps we might add, of the honesty of Government; for it must be recollected, that Government is the chief Lord of the soil, and participates in the profit arising from the oppressions of the Zemindar, and the confiscation of the rights of the ryots. This is not the place to discuss remedies. We advert to the subject only to note our opinion, which perhaps is not the prevailing one, that some remedies of greater or less efficacy are practicable, and that the will only is wanted. This we think must be apparent from this simple proposition, which we believe to be incontrovertible; namely, that the rights of the ryots are precisely of the same nature as the permanent settlement; they are *the* ancient *settlement* of the rates payable to the original owner of the soil by the cultivator of it, but evidenced only by custom. All that is wanted is, what Government has known how to make for itself,—pre-appointed evidence. It would be as easy to register the khoodkust tenure, as the law and custom of a certain district, as to register the Government settlement.

But, secondly, let us note the peculiarities, indicated by our hero, in the course of the litigation. There is the Deputy Magistrate's exposition of the law, which, though correct, is nugatory. There is the imposition of a stamp duty, which either bars justice to the poor man, or lays the foundation of his ruin. Then there is the

conflict of decisions, between that of the Deputy Magistrate, which is right, and that of the Munsiff, which our hero ascribes either to corruption, prejudice, or ignorance; and he only speaks the prevailing opinion, in holding these up as characteristic of the East India Company's Courts of every denomination. Lastly, there is the Munsiff's contempt for the *Dipty Saheb*;—a feature well worth noting, because it is not merely an individual feeling, which may be ascribed to a bad man, but is not likely to be entertained by men in general. On the contrary, it is the necessary consequence of the established relation of this valuable class of public officers toward the covenanted civil service. Instead of being equal and independent, they are in a state of degradation and subordination, which deprives them of all deference and respect from other officials. Law and authority are as respectable in a constable as in a king; and no grades of service ought to destroy this species of equality.

As the same species of agency is employed in the Revenue Department, as in the Civil and Fouzdarí (Criminal), the same vices may easily be believed to prevail in it, and similar consequences to follow. We rise from this portion of our hero's revelations with the most painful impression of the utter insecurity of all rights of property. It was on the occasion of Paunchkowries losing his land, in the manner already described, that he resorted to his friend Suntokhea. From being a victim of oppression, he wished to become an agent of the Law, and in his turn to be the oppressor. He now relates, how his fortune throve, by joining in all the corrupt practices of the Collector's umlahs. Under the Company's system, the ancient *Zemindars* have shared the same fate as the ancient ryots: and our hero illustrates in some degree how this has been accomplished.

"During," says he, "my incumbency as an '*Orderly*,' I have 'witnessed scenes that, if described with ordinary rhetoric, would 'induce my readers to think that I am not dealing with facts, 'but endeavouring to harrow their feelings with imaginary tales 'of distress. I will leave such matters for the ingenuity of 'romance-mongers, and give you the naked truth, which requires 'no high coloring to render it interesting. There lived 'in the village of *Tandah* an opulent cultivator, by name '*Bhuwani Singh*. His ancestors had been the *Zemindars* 'of the village; but during the first revenue settlements, 'by *Junatin Dunkin Buhadur*, his father had refused to 'enter into the necessary engagements, alleging that the as-'sessments were too heavy; so that, at the time of my story, '*Bhuwani Singh* was cultivator of fifty *bigahs* of as fine 'land as you would desire to see for miles around. The

'*malguzari* (rent) on these lands was 1 rupee 8 annas a *bigah*, 'or seventy-five rupees per annum. The *Zemindars* of *Tandah* 'were also opulent men, and were never a day behind the fixed 'time for payment of the '*kists*' due to the *Sircar*. But the '*taluk* (estate) was known to be profitable, and was coveted by 'the *Vakil* and *Umlah*; and a plot was entered into between 'them, to force it to be sold, when they would pounce upon it as 'legal prey, and appropriate it as their own."

The plan resorted to was not to serve the usual *dustuck* (summons) out of the Collector's Office; to bring the zemindars into default by this means; and in the end to induce a sale of the property for arrears of revenue. The taluk was sold, and purchased by Lalla Munshi and Mouhori Vakil, two persons in the Collector's office; the Zemindars appealed, but could get no redress, as the papers were right; and the auction purchasers got possession.

This case, as respects the Zemindars, is the true type of a million. Never, before or since, did law or policy, war or rapine, effect so many and such extensive changes of property, as the East India Company's revenue system in the early days of its establishment. In Europe the property of the church and of other corporations has undergone indiscriminate confiscation: but in India, the whole landed property of the country has been subjected to a system, the effect of which has been to sweep away the ancient proprietors, and to fill their places with the lowest of the Company's native officials. Our hero represents the ruin of the Zemindars, as having been followed by the subversion of the ancient rights of the ryots; and he illustrates it by the relation of what further happened to *Bhowani Singh*, in his new character of a cultivator. Bhowani was entitled by lineage, by intelligence, by capital, by the extent of his occupation, to be considered as of a very superior order, a sort of old Indian gentleman, who had lost his estate by the policy of Government, but, still cleaving to the soil, had turned farmer. He had, like the smaller ryots, a perpetual tenure, at a fixed rent; and, according to the custom of the country, it was an inheritance and a property. Such a man would of course be obnoxious to the new, revolutionary, *Sansculottes* tribe of zemindars who sprung up like mushrooms in the *Raj* of the East India Company, and, having no rights but what they acquired by fraud and rapine, had no respect for the principle of property. Mark now, the cruel steps by which Bhowani and his sons were utterly ruined by the new zemindars.

"No sooner was the sale of *Tandah* concluded, than *Moulvi*

'*Vakil* obtained a *kubalah* (bill of sale,) and *umuldustuk*, (writ of
'possession) and took formal possession. Notice for enhance-
'ment of rent was served on every *ryot*; and, among others,
'*Bhuwani Singh*, and his fifty *bigahs* of *mourusi jot*, (perpetual
'tenure) were not forgotten. He had always paid one rupee eight
'annas per *bigah*, and was now directed to pay five rupees. But
'he was a tough old *Rajput*, and merely laughed the notice to
'scorn. However *Moulvi Vakil* was not a man to give in, while
'a quirk or quibble was at hand, or a sheer face of brass could
'frown forth withering terrors; so as soon as the first *kist*
'became due, he instituted summary process against him. The
'case was prepared by the *Umlah*, and heard before the *Saheb*
'*Shistunt*, who had recenty joined.

"There were, first, the *Putwari's wasil baki* (rent account);
'second, a copy of the notice served on defendant, declaring him
'liable to pay five rupees per *bigah*; third, the Collector's *kubalah*
'to the auction purchaser. In answer to all these, old *Bhuwani*
'*Singh* simply referred to the fact, that he was a resident here-
'ditary cultivator, from the cession of the province to the
'*Sircar Kumpani Buhadur*—that he held a *puttah* signed by
'the *Saheb Kullan Junatin Dunkin*—that by the regulations
'of the *Sircar* he was exempt from enhancement of rent—and
'that, please *Ramji!* he would not pay a fraction more than
'he had done. While the *Saheb Shistunt* sate with a becoming
'gravity, with his beaver hat knowingly cocked on his head,
'*Moulvi Vakil* eagerly said '*Jenab-i-ali!* did your honor
'ever hear such insolence, as has been uttered by that fellow?
'He says, he will not pay a pice more than the *malguzari* he
'has paid, even if your worship order it! He presumes to
'defy the *Hakim*!' 'Well, well,' pettishly said the *Saheb*, '*chup*
'*ruho* (Silence). What are the sale regulations, *Munshi?*'
'Now the reader will remember that the *Munshi* was a joint
'proprietor with the *Vakil*, and his cue, therefore, was to mis-
'lead; so he turned up Regulation 5 of 1812, Sec. 9. 'Here, sir,
'is the *kanun* (regulation). *Moulvi Vakil* did serve the notice
'for enhancement of *malguzari*, and is clearly entitled to a decree
'in the present suit.' Decree for plaintiff was given accord-
'ingly. This is grand, thought old *Bhuwani Singh* '*diggrut*
'*to pah, lekin rupia to morpas bah.*' (You may get the
'decree, but not the rupees). After a month, the decree was
'executed, and the usual process for apprehension of the person
'was issued. The *mushkuri*, that served the writ, was thrashed
'soundly by *Bhuwani's* three sons, who were taken up for the
'assault by the *Thanadar, chalaned,* and sentenced to six
'months' imprisonment each; and old *Bhuwani* himself, heart-

'broken and disconsolate, delivered himself up to the *Nazir*. 'The case was called, the decree read, and *Bhuwani* was asked, 'whether he would pay the amount? 'No, I will not,' was his re- 'ply. 'For fifty years my father and I have never paid more 'than one rupee eight annas a *bigah*, and not a pie more shall I 'pay.' He was sent to jail. *Moulvi Vakil* next gave in a petition 'to the *Saheb Shistunt*, for the sale of *Bhuwani's* property. 'This was ordered of course; but it was strange that six fine 'cows, two stone sugar mills, and a stack of grain, were sold for 'only eighteen rupees. The sale was sanctioned; but, as the 'whole amount of decree was not paid, old *Bhuwani* was, there- 'fore, allowed to rot in jail.

"When the next instalment became due to the auction pur- 'chaser, a summary suit was again filed according to the usual 'processes; the return of the *Nazir* was '*ruposh*' (hiding.) But 'the defendant and his sons were in jail; how then could the suit 'be defended? The result was an *exparte* decree for *Moulvi* '*Vakil*. This decree was also executed; and the *Nazir's kyfeut* 'was, that the defendant was in jail, in a suit of the decree- 'holder, *Moulvi Vakil*. He was sent for from the jail; but 'pleaded insolvency, and was released.

"*Bhuwani* was at large; his sons also were released: and 'they commenced ploughing their fields. Like men, they vowed 'that *Moulvi Vakil* should rue the day he ever thought of 'oppressing them. Old *Dowlut Singh* and his stalwart progeny 'were also paupers; and, in the whole village, a feeling of hatred 'and revenge was engendered against the *Nilamdar*. But the '*Moulvi* was not one, that would rashly venture his person 'within a village, the inhabitants of which were inimical to 'him; and he laughed at the deadly threats of the tribe of *Raj-* '*puts*.

"He sent his *Karindah*, however, to *tusil* (collect); and on 'the first night of his arrival at the *ch'howni*, (hut), it was fired; 'and he and his party were knocked down with lattees (clubs), as 'they ran out to escape the devouring flame.

"This was what the *Vakil* had longed for, and had anticipat- 'ed. He smoothed down his beard with the hand of satis- 'faction; and prepared to act. Meantime *Dowlut Singh* and his 'stalwart sons, and old *Bhuwani* and his sons, were so alarmed 'at their own violence, and frightened for the consequences, 'that they left their homes, and fled. A very exaggerated re- 'port was made to the Magistrate, of a case, which required no 'coloring to heighten its enormity. The wounded men were 'sent into hospital; and weeks passed before they were declared 'to be convalescent. The defendants were not forthcoming,

'until they were proclaimed as out-laws, when they made necessity a virtue, and gave themselves up. They were tried, fully convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment for seven years. Thus *Moulvi Vakil* got possession of the entire *taluk* at the expence of a few broken bones to his retainers.

"This result made a serious impression on me. I reflected that my own case was not parallel in hardship. For here were zemindars, and old *istimraree puttidars* (holders of reclaimed land), turned out of their fields, and irretrievably ruined in purse and reputation, by the machinations of a man, who had risen from the dregs of the people to be a Vakil, by the sheer force of villany, aided by, it must be confessed, great talent. Here were the well-meaning regulations of a Government, that would be paternal, misconceived and distorted, to suit the views of interested parties. And the *Hakims*, what were they doing? Alas! I saw by my own practice that they were as children in our hands. Their various duties so interfered one with another, that a portion only could possibly be performed."

THE MOCKERY OF AN ADJUDICATION.

"Most of my readers are aware that "*summary suits*" for rent or replevin (known as *moquddumat surasuri*, or *bigah tulbi*) are heard and decided by a Covenanted Assistant to the Collector, or by the "*Dipty Saheb.*" But, perhaps, all are not aware, that the proof in such cases is based entirely upon the *Putwari's* (Rent Collector's) accounts. For any claim that is doubtful, the parties are referred to the civil courts. But as no witnesses may be examined, the *Putwari* has it entirely in his power to depone, for *zemindar*, or for *ryot*, exactly as his own interest may bias him. He produces a *Jummabundi* (rent-roll) and the village accounts, which are confessedly dictated by the *zemindar* himself. He asserts that the *ryot* owes the *zemindar* so much money, and has not paid it, *because it is not mentioned in his accounts!* The poor *ryot* calls his *debtas* (gods) to witness for him; names the *mahajun*, to whom he pledged his bullocks for the money to pay his rent; and the witnesses in whose presence the money was paid. But the inexorable *Dipty* merely asks him, '*Putwari yah zemindar ka ruseed rukhteh ho*' (Do you hold a receipt from the Putwari, or zemindar)? *Nuhee, ryot purwur* (No; Protector of ryots!) A decree for plaintiff is the certain result. But who shall blame the Assistant or Deputy, when they are so desired to do, and are forbidden to make aught approaching to judicial in-

'vestigation? The *jummabundi* itself, the principal, if not 'only, documentary evidence in suits for rent or replevin, is a tissue of falsehoods and errors. Pick out any one, 'or a dozen at random, and try and reconcile the discrepancies. 'You will find the same number of the field, the same *jumma*, 'and area, put down against two or three distinct *asamis*, in 'the same number of distinct entries. Why? you ask. Merely 'to enable the *zemindar* and *putwari* to charge one or the 'other party with the *malguzari*, according to the necessity 'of the occasion. But is there not an establishment of Deputy Collectors, *Tuhsildars*, *Qanungos*, and *Mohurirs*, to exa'mine records, and to rectify errors, wilful or unintentional? 'True; but how can one man get through the work of four? 'The comparison is slurred over, and the people suffer."

The true economy would be not to have any such establishment at all: but a *sham* one, though useless for its proper objects, is a name, and may be referred to as a fact, by the sophist or sycophant, in defence of Government; while it blinds the Government itself.

"But to illustrate my allegations with a tale—there lived in 'the village of *Bhurturra*, one *Ramkishoon Koonbee*, who had 'a *jot* of seven *bigahs* of land, which had devolved on him 'as his inheritance. He was industrious and prosperous, and 'always paid his rent of twenty-one rupees per annum to *Bul* '*bhudder Singh*, the *Nilamdar*. *Ramkishoon's* sons had grown 'up; and, leaving two of them to manage the fields, he, 'with one son, took service with the Rajah of Bettiah. 'They had been absent two years at the period of my tale. A '*bigah* of land, that had been left fallow, was about to be 'ploughed by *Ramkishoon's* sons for sugar cane; when *Debee* '*Lalla*, with five strapping *latthials*, forcibly stopped them, and 'ploughed the field themselves. On the lads' remonstrance, '*Debee Lalla* told them, *that their father had been dispossessed* '*two years ago!* They were too weak to fight; so went to 'another of their fields, and commenced tilling it vigorously. 'A year passed away; and *Ramkishoon Koonbee* returned to '*Bhurturrah*; his sons told him the story of their dispossession 'from part of the *jot*. The old fellow's blood was up, and he 'filed a petition in the *surasury* for *bey-dhukli* (ejectment). 'The *Putwari* was summoned, and deponed upon oath to the 'dispossession of *Ramkishoon* from his entire *jot, three years* '*ago!* further, that *Ramkishoon* had fled from his village; and 'that the *Nilamdar* had made a *bundobust* (settlement) of the 'seven *bigahs* of land with *Ramdeehul Singh*, who had paid 'the *malguzari* regularly. Great was the horror of the poor

'*Koonbee*. He produced receipts given to his sons, for the 'money they had paid the *Karindah, Debee Lalla*. He swore 'that he was in possession of six *bigahs* of his old *jot*, and beg- 'ged of the *Saheb* to look at the accounts. This was done, but 'lo! the last two *jummabundis* bore the name of *Ramdeehul* '*Singh*, as cultivator of the fields formerly held by *Ramkishoon* '*Koonbee*. What could the *Saheb* do? *Ramkishoon's* case was 'dismissed, and he was referred to the civil courts for redress.

"Here was a poor cultivator, resident and hereditary, dis- 'possessed, first of one field by force; and then of all the rest 'by an unscrupulous *Nilamdar*, and a rascally *Putwari*. Had 'the *Quanungo* first reported to the *Huzur*, that an entry in 'the *Jummabundi* had been made, contrary to the preceding 'year's papers, an enquiry would have been ordered, and the 'false entry corrected. But the more inaccuracies there are in 'a *Jummabundi*, the greater is the fee demanded for filing it; 'and, if the *douceur* be sweet enough, there is never any diffi- 'culty in getting the *Huzur's* signature affixed to it."

The filing of the jummabundi, or rent-roll, of a village annually, evidently appears to be commanded by the regulations, as a protection to the ryot. It is the duty of an officer, who is paid for the service by a special tax. Hear from our hero, how this duty is performed, and the office converted into a means of extortion:—

"The filing of the *Putwari's* papers is a tax to the entire 'district; and, when the *Saheban Borad* issue stringent orders 'to the Collectors to expedite the delivery of the papers, then 'comes a glorious harvest to us orderlies. The *Dipty* sends 'first one *dustuck* upon the *zemindar* and *Putwari*, then a 'second, and a third. They are at length brought before the 'man "in a little brief authority;" and the culprits tremble for 'the result. Has the *tullubana* been paid? No, your honor. 'Then put the *Putwari* in the *Nazir's* guard; and place an 'extra *peadah*, on the zemindar until the *tullubana* has 'been paid. The Zemindar alleges that the *peadah* only 'served him with the notice four days ago. But he is turned out 'summarily. He offers to pay whatever is demanded: the *peadah* 'coolly asks *ten rupees*. This is refused indignantly; but every 'day the bullying increases, and the extra day's *tullubana* is ad- 'ded to the first demand, until the *Zemindar, lachar*, (helpless) 'gives the *peadah* all he demands, to get away to his quiet 'home, far from the harpies of the *Kacherie*. But what 'is the law? There is no penal law, by which the zemin- 'dar may be coerced to file the *jummabundis*. The only pu- 'nishment the law contemplates, is to debar any zemindar the

'privilege to sue for his rent in any court, if the *jummabundi* 'is not filed; and yet, each village is mulcted from five to ten 'rupees per annum; and a parcel of vagabonds called "*mush-* 'kuri peadahs" fatten illegally on the villagers. *In every* 'district, where the Putwari's papers are filed regularly, and 'before the beginning of the year, a legion of these mushkooris 'is set loose upon the zemindars, to force them to do as the 'Saheban Alishan desire."

The law and the local administrations thus appear to be equally defective. All our hero's revelations conspire to shew that the European agency employed by Government is incompetent for the public service required from it; and this gives freedom to the natives to follow every corrupt impulse and motive of personal interest. Our hero next relates a case of the enhancement of the customary rents through the assistance of the Qanungo:—

"A *Mahajun* had purchased the village of *Buhadurpur*, and 'his *karindahs* suggested, that by doubling the rents of every 'cultivator, he would get a clear profit of a hundred rupees per 'mensem. How was this miracle to be effected? You shall see. 'A *jummabundi* was given to the *qanungo* to be filed in the 'Collector's office; but the increase shewn was so alarming, 'that he did not dare to attest it. He gave a *kyfeut* to the '*huzur* to the effect, that 'there was an increase in the *jumma* 'certainly, but the *nilamdar* alleged that the *asamis* had agreed 'to the enhancement of rent, on his consenting to dig wells, &c. 'for them.' The *Saheb* ordered the *qanungo* to go out himself, 'to assemble the *asamis*, and to report faithfully whether they 'had really consented to the increase? And if so, to get the 'signatures of the majority affixed to the *jummabundi*. This 'was pretended to be carried out; and a month had not elapsed, 'when the *qanungo* again presented the *jummabundi* with his '*kyfeut* to the *huzur*, asserting that the names of all the culti-'vators had been affixed to the document, in the presence of 'himself and the *putwari*. What could the *Saheb* do? The '*jummabundi* was signed and sealed, and ordered to the filed 'among the records."

"The *qanungo* fattens most when it is the misfortune of any 'village to be made "*kham tuhsil*," that is, where the *zemindar* 'becomes a defaulter, and no person offers to take a farming 'lease for a term of years, and pay the balance. The Collector 'appoints a manager on his own part, called a *Suzawul*, to 'collect the rents, and in most cases the *qanungo* is chosen to 'fill this office. The first thing done is to go to the village, 'assemble the inhabitants, and ask for the *nuzurana* (good-will

'offering) for the *Sircar*. Nothing but silver is ever taken from
'the majority, but the *Suzawul* is sometimes content to commute
'the cash payment for the offering of a fat sheep. As soon as
'the sheep has been digested, the *asamis* are again summoned
'to adjust the new *jummabundi ba-mujibhukum Saheban*
'*Borad*. The *Brahmuns* are let off lest they should curse the
'*Lalla*; but from every other caste, from four annas to eight
'annas a bigah is rigorously exacted. As these sums are in-
'tended for the *Suzawul's* private purse, they are, from a mere
'infirmity in his memory, omitted in the village accounts. The
'*zemindar's* dues are always enforced by the *Sircar's* represen-
'tative. The shepherds present the younglings of their flocks;
'the barbers shave him, and sooth him to rest, or gently arouse
'him by the delicious pressure of the limbs known as *shampuing*;
'sometimes the young *Nayins* (barberesses) take the place of
'their husbands to lull the *Suzawul* to rest; the *telis* furnish
'sufficient oil for a lamp to burn throughout the night; and
'thus a *Suzawul*, in charge of a large estate, is *the* picture of
'a happy man, in the enjoyment of rural felicity and rural affluence. Many a feast do his friends receive at the expense of
'the villagers; and who would not feast, "eat, drink, and be
'merry," when all the materials cost nothing? A case comes on
'before the Saheb Collector; the *qanungo* is ordered to attend.
'He cannot be found. Where is he? Nobody can tell. The
'*nazir* roars out to me, Go, PAUNCHKOURI, and bring that
'*suhalinkar*, that *nimukharam*, to the *Huzur*. Go to his
'house, and if not there, go to the village of *Sundaha* where
'he may be playing the *Suzawul*."

This accords with many native testimonies which we have heard on this subject. The zemindars are universally acknowledged tyrants; but in the case of *khas* lands (Company's lands, farmed through official agency), the tyranny of the Suzawuls and his assistant, is insupportable; just as a pack of wolves, by reason of their greater number, will carry off, devour, and destroy, more than one tiger.

THE KOMMISHNUR KURKI.

"But *the* great man, '*who plays fantastic tricks before high*
'*heaven*' is the *Kommishnur Kurki*, and *I* have watched his
'doings with much edification. He has his *sudder kacheri*,
'and writes his *rubukaris*, like a *Hakim*. As far as I could
'learn from the *muktiars* and *mohurrirs* of the Collector's
'office, the duties of this officer are simply those of an Ameen
'of distraint and sale, for which he is entitled to a com-
'mission of ten per cent. *on the proceeds of sale*. And in the

'event of a compromise, or non-completion of the sale, from any 'cause whatsoever, he is entitled to five per cent. *on the valua-* 'tion of the property distrained. The resources from this com- 'mission *only*, would amount to about thirty-five or forty rupees 'per mensem. The *Kommishnur Saheb* has to pay the rent of 'a suitable *kacheri*. He has a *mohurrir* on seven rupees a 'month, and six *chuprassis* at least, to whom he must give three 'rupees each. Thus little enough, it would appear, is left for the 'provision of the great man himself. He has, generally, a wife 'and several children at home. He sports a horse or palki, 'keeps one or two servants, and a comely woman servant, who 'acts as his *khidmutgar*. Money must be found for these 'expenses; and, by the blessing of the *debtas*, who watch over 'the prosperity of the mysteries of chicanery, it is never want- 'ing. Without tiring my readers with all the minutiæ of 'trickery, I shall just give a few examples of extortion."

Of these examples we shall present only the last, and beg our reader to note in it, how unsafe capital, when applied to the soil, is rendered by such misgovernment. The produce of the soil at the present reduced prices will not bear the tax of such enormous corruption: and the tendency of the system has already become apparent in Lower Bengal, which is rapidly in the course of conversion into one vast rice-field. The rest of the country, which requires much tillage, labour and capital, especially for the more valuable crops, must go gradually out of cultivation.

"An *asami* has been allowed to cut his *khurrif* (harvest) crop 'without his rent being demanded. He is in debt, and has paid 'away the greater part of his produce to the village *Mahajun*; 'when he finds *two bigahs* of half-grown *sugar-cane* distrain- 'ed, and notice of sale advertised. If allowed to come to 'maturity, and the juice to be worked into *gur*, the two *bi-* 'gahs of cane would yield from 150 to 200 rupees; but the 'zemindar is resolved to ruin him. The poor *ryot* ruins to the 'Collector Saheb, or the *Saheb Dipty*, and petitions against this 'grinding oppression. He is told to give *malzamini* (security), 'and to institute *Bejah Kurki*. He hypothecates the standing 'crops to his *Mahajun*, who becomes his surety, and the case 'is instituted. After the usual forms, the case is heard. The 'ryot does not deny that the claim is just, but pleads that if 'he had time granted him, he would pay the demand, and still 'save himself from ruin. The *Saheb* says, *wajib hai* (it is reason 'able. But the *Mukhtyars* ask, whether the zemindar is not 'entitled to receive the *malguzari* from the produce of the soil? 'They allege that the *khurrif* was cut and sold by the *ryot*, with- 'out paying the zemindar his dues; and that if the *Saheb Baha-*

'*dur* will now interfere, how is the zemindar to pay the revenue 'due to the *Sircar?* The *Munshiji* quietly folds his hands, to 'say his *iltimas* (prayers); and he urges, that the sale of stand-'ing crops is authorised by usage. The case is dismissed, and 'a sale ordered. And the poor *ryot* has the option of either 'permitting his half-grown crops to be purchased by the ze-'mindar (*ism furzi*) in a fictitious name at a twentieth of the 'value, or, of borrowing money from the *Mahajun*, on the hypo-'thecations of the crops, *at seventy-five per cent. per annum* '*interest.*

"Well, thought I, the *Kumpani ka Raj* is a paternal and 'fostering *Raj* for the poor ryots!"

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> "Where wealth accumulates, and *men* decay;
> "Princes and Lords may flourish, or may fade,
> "A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
> "But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> "When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

In several chapters our hero describes, in an historical manner, the survey, and other operations in the N. W. Provinces many years ago, for making a revenue settlement. They are revelations rather of the past than the present; but are exceedingly curious and interesting, and pregnant we may add with instruction. Instead of making extensive extracts, we will endeavour to give an abridgment, in which our object, like our author's, will be not so much the amusement of our readers, as their instruction.

The whole of the ceded and conquered provinces laboured under the disadvantage of short leases for the revenue, for terms of five or ten years: and, as these terms expired, there was a constant struggle between Government and the Zemindars, on the one side to augment, on the other to reduce, the revenue assessments. The periodical revision of settlements rendered large establishments necessary, and burdened the Government with the expence of highly paid revenue boards, as well as their deputations over various parts of the country. To introduce a change, the first object was, to ascertain the precise limits of each estate, with a view to the measurement of the included area. "This led," says our author, "to the appointment of young gentlemen of the Civil Service" as *settlement officers*, and the employment of *Revenue Surveyors*. Their proper object was, (like that of every land-owner in appointing a land-steward and surveyor) to define the boundaries of the different farms, so that the tenants might have no pretence for encroaching on one another: to ascertain the quantity, more or less, in each farm

and Zemindari, and the kind and quality of the land, so that a fair rent might be exacted; and, on the other hand, to give the tenant a sufficiently long term, to give him an interest in improving the property. Such were the objects: but the operations, according to our author, were a complete failure. This he appears to assume as unquestionable fact and matter of notoriety; and he shews in detail how it came to be so. Reader, you have seen in the foregoing pages, how the Company's system of police, how its administration of justice, have become failures, or worse; now mark how similarly, this other great service, established by the state, became a failure, "The root of the evil" (that is the failure,) says our author, was the ignorance of the officers, to whom the work was entrusted, as to the exact nature of what they were required to perform. The young settlement officers had to learn the rudiments of the revenue system; and the surveyors were not instructed to prepare their papers, so as to tally in all points with the records of the collector's office. Thus, it appears, there was no competent head to direct the operations at starting. All sorts of discrepancies and confusion followed. In the essential point of the lists of estates, the returns of the survey and settlement officers materially differed. A confusion was made between *muhals* (estates) and *mouzahs* (villages). Here we have ignorance, alike of the language and of the customary territorial divisions of the country. They did not know such a difference, as that between an estate and a county: or between a manor and the hundred in which it might be situated. In many instances the collector, the settlement officer, and the surveyor were at open feud, or privately bent on playing at cross purposes, and thwarting each other; and officers of the same class entertained different ideas respecting what were their duties. Settlements, however, were made, and fixed by the fiat of authority: but they worked badly. Zemindars could not afford to pay yearly losses. They tried a desperate game, and neglected the cultivation, as our author says, to induce a remission of the revenue: but their estates were sold to recover the balances due to the *Sircar*. Thus, one set of proprietors was relentlessly swept away, to be succeeded by auction-purchasers. These rack-rented the cultivators; who fled, and affairs became worse than ever. The native officials, employed in the survey, had fine scope for their activity. A desperate struggle arose of bribery on a large scale to prevent the true arrears of villages being brought to light; and every native official, of whatever grade, not only was promoted by gigantic strides, but emulated the wealth of the Company.

Our author does full justice to the *principle* of these Revenue Settlements: it was, he says, excellent, and evinced the wisdom and practical (sed quære) skill of the legislature, and of the many able men who compose the Boards of Revenue.

He specifies several errors on the part of those who had the ordering of these Surveys. *The* great mistake, or, as we should prefer to say, *one* great mistake was, an order to go through with a fixed quantity of work within a definite time, and to make the assessments as high as the country could bear with reference to its means. When the consequences of this were seen, modifying orders were issued, to make the *bundobusts* (settlements) light, that the people might not be overburdened: but this, as our author wittily observes, was "like telling a cook to slaughter a calf, and then, out of superfluous humanity, to shed tears over the untimely fate of the unfortunate animal!" It may well be doubted indeed, whether the humanity and the tears were intended to be real; for, whenever *remission* was suggested, so many explanations were called for, that officials became wary and wise, and tried to square their course so as to save trouble.

From general remarks such as the above, which our author calls his *prolegomena*, he returns to the beginning of his subject, and shews how the work of the settlement proceeded. "A set of hungry *Amins* (native commissioners,) were let loose upon the district, whose duty it was to set up earthen *termini* at every angle of the boundary of each estate." These men are described as extorting, by fair means or foul, large sums from the Zemindar: and, if he tried to break off, they reported him to the *Peshkar* (deputy registrar), and he to the settlement officers, and the settlement officers fined him roundly.

The boundaries being completed, the survey commenced; and, first and foremost, a fat *Tindal* (foreman) went to every large village, and, gathering the notables together, announced that the Parmash-ka-lushkur (Great man's attendants) would encamp therein; and, Mind friend, he would say, get ready ten thousand naiks (tent pins,) &c. This hint was always sufficient to induce the Zemindars to shell out handsomely, and to beg the Tindal to represent to the Saheb-i-Massah, that the village was not adapted for an encampment. The Tindal knew very well that the village was too much out of the way to be chosen by the surveyor; so he pocketed the rupees, went on his way to the next large village, and repeated his experiment of selecting an encampment with similar success.

The encamping ground being fixed upon, next the khulasis were sent out to prepare the villages for survey. They had to remove obstructions in a direct line: a rich crop of sugar cane,

or a fine old mangoe tree, or a peepul held in veneration by the villagers, *would* come into the direct line; if the Zemindars paid freely, the station was removed to one side: but, if they asserted independance, a report of opposition to the survey was made, and in most cases the villagers were mulcted by the settlement officer.

The lines being prepared for survey, parties of surveyors were sent out to measure the boundaries.

"This used to be carefully and satisfactorily done at first by 'European Assistants; but it was discovered in the course of 'time, that it was *cheaper* to use native agency, and to pay twen-'ty-five rupees a month to a boundary Surveyor, instead of '150 or 200 to an assistant. This notable discovery, however, 'did not answer its end. It took some time of course to train 'natives to their work; but it *was* at length accomplished; and 'the work then got on as rapidly as the projectors had antici-'pated. But the new *material* had odd notions of honesty, 'and of course adapted it, as it seemed to be most beneficial to 'individual interests. The *Tindals* nearly lost their monopoly, 'and the gathering of the harvest devolved on more influential 'hands. The *Lalla Saheb*, or, as he used sometimes to be 'styled, the *Kumpass-walla*, claimed, and took the lion's share of 'the perquisites. But, you ask, how were the perquisites ob-'tained? Why, a common trick was for the *Kumpass-walla* to 'adjust his theodolite, and to pretend surprise that the magne-'tic needle would not play. The *Tindal* would anxiously 'enquire what was wrong? The *khulasis* would do the same. 'The *Zemindars* present would thus have their curiosity excited, 'and would crowd round the theodolite with gaping mouths. At 'last the *Tindal* would venture to ask the *Lalla Saheb*, whether 'the usual morning *púja* to the instrument had been performed? 'This acted as a flapper to the *Lalla*, and he asked his next 'neighbour, the *Zemindar*, to put a rupee on the glass of the 'needle. It was done; but deuce a bit would it move. The 'attraction is not sufficiently strong, he would say, try another! 'This was done until the patience of the villagers was exhaust-'ed, and they had put down as many as ten rupees. The *Lalla* 'gingerly touched the catch, and the needle swung round to 'the astonishment and edification of the villagers. The rupees 'were pocketed, and divided afterwards among the whole of the 'party. But the ordinary mode was to induce the *Zemindars* 'to believe, that the *Kumpass-walla* had it in his power to in-'crease or decrease the area of the village, by a single squint at 'the *Kumpass*.

"The boundary survey over, a party of detail measurers went

'out to measure the cultivation. If the *Zemindar* feed highly, 'a good portion of cultivated land was put in as fallow, or 'waste; and specifications of soil were noted so favorably, as to 'induce a belief, that the cultivation was not highly productive. 'The item of irrigation was exaggerated in the same manner. 'There were *no* wells, *no* ponds, *no* streamlets, to furnish an 'adequate supply of water. If the *Zemindar* did *not* pay, then 'a picture diametrically opposite was drawn and submitted. 'The cultivation was increased; every deserted field, on which 'the furrow of a plough was faintly visible, was included under 'the head of cultivation. The barren waste was entered as '' arable,' and even tracts of pure sand were represented as 'such: every field was highly irrigated; and the sources of 'irrigation multiplied.

"It was soon found that a detailed survey, such as I have at-'tempted to describe, was of little service to the settlement officer. 'There were, in the first place, no data for an *asamiwar* set-'tlement; and, secondly, the extent of cultivation was more than 'doubtful. Then was introduced the admirable mode of *khusrah* '(field-book) *surveys;* a most excellent mode of procedure if 'you can look sufficiently sharp after the *Amin*, to force him 'to be honest and correct. The mode of procedure was as 'follows."

We cannot follow our author in these details; but we refer to them, as demonstrative proof that he thoroughly understands the subject, and was conversant with the operations depicted. At the commencement of the khusrah surveys, the simple and unsophisticated mode of measurement with *ropes* of Indian hemp, or thongs of leather, was adopted; but the difference of measurement of the rope, when wet, and when dry, baffled all testing. Iron chains were substituted; but a link could be taken away, or a link added; and, according as the Zemindar paid, the chain was lengthened or shortened. "Where bribery," says our author, "took root to any extent, it went through the establish-'ment of the *testers*, and the *mohurirs* (clerks) and *munshis* "of the survey and settlement office; and every return was '*judged*, as school-boys term it." In the several matters of irrigation, soil, average of produce, name of the holder of the field, even his *caste*, the *Amins* reaped a rich harvest.

"The name of the holder was a most important point, and 'which the surveyors themselves did not understand rightly; 'and the changes under this head occasioned serious mischief. 'The distinction of *Sar lands* and *Sikhmi Asamis*, or here-'ditary cultivators, was not understood, or not regarded. When

'an opulent *Asami* of the Rajput or Brahmin caste asserted independence, and would not pay, he was recorded as a '*Chumar!*'* When the register of holdings was publicly tested, and *Phullanah Chumar* called, no answer was returned from sheer pride of caste: and the unfortunate wight was obliged to petition the settlement officer, and to fee the *Qanungo* and *Mohurirs* handsomely to get his name correctly entered. But what I have said was merely the light skirmishing of irregular troops—the real seat of war was the *Kacheri-i-paimash* (surveyor's office); and the chief plunderers were the *munshis* and their satellites in that department.

"When a *khusrah* was tested, and signed by the surveyor, it was sent into the *Munshi-khanah*. Now, the signature was confined to the leaf showing the *total area*. Nightly durbars were held by the *Munshiji*, and large sums were paid to him, to *falsify the papers entirely!* The page shewing the total area, and bearing the surveyor's signature, was the same; but the *details* were entirely changed. This was proved to have occurred in the district of *Futtehpore;* and what guarantee is there, that similar tricks and deceptions were not, more or less, universal?"

The survey papers are at length prepared, and, such as they are, sent to the settlement office.

"Now came the actual responsibilities of the settlement officer's duties. He had to fix a rental upon each *muhal*. He had to apportion the *malguzari* of each *ryot* to the extent of his holding. He had to adduce reasons for the reduction or increase of the revenue. The proper mode would have been for the *Saheb mohtimim* to proceed into every village, and judge for himself, and *then* to decide this important point. But alas! few had the inclination to take so much trouble; and, even if they had, they were hampered by the orders of the superior authorities. They were expected to go through a certain quantity of work; and, to save their credit, they did so, but to the frustration of the object for which Government had appointed them. A common mode was to divide each *purgunnah* into a number of imaginary portions, assuming that each portion consisted of similar soil and facilities for irrigation.

"Thus, by assuming an arbitrary standard, a false valuation of the estates was (as a consequence) made. Scores of really profitable *muhals*, that were assessed at the *average*, were very greatly under-rated. While other estates, that were poor,

* Shoe-maker: a low caste among the Hindus.

'and whose productiveness fell *under* the average, by being 'lumped with their more profitable neighbours, were irretrieveably ruined. The reports of settlement were plausible enough, 'and read well; but the results of experience prove the falsity 'of the data, upon which the settlement operations were based. 'In calculating the means of a village, the ordinary mode was 'to take the average of the rates of *malguzari*, and thereby 'multiply the number of *bigahs* under cultivation; to deduct 'therefrom the ordinary village expences, and ten per cent. for 'the zemindar's *malikana*, (or dues for right of management); '—and the balance was the Government *jumma*. Suppose an 'estate with 1000 *bigahs* of cultivation, and the average *mal-'guzari* rate to be three rupees a *bigah*, the gross assets 'would be assumed at 3000 rupees. There are two *choukidars* '(watchmen) and one *goraet* at two rupees a month each, and a '*Putwari* at four rupees. The annual expence would be 120 'rupees. The *malikana* at ten per cent would be 300 rupees. 'The accounts would stand thus:—

Hal hasil (present assets).....Rs.	3,000
Deduct *malikana* at 10 per cent.	300
Rupees	2,700
Deduct wages of village servants.....	120
Balance, or Government revenue.....	2,580

'By the above calculation it will be seen that the Govern-'ment revenue bore the extraordinary proportion of 86 *per 'cent. on the gross returns! (quære,* rental?)

"But the duties of a *zemindar* do not consist only in receiv-'ing the rents from the *ryots*. He is obliged, or he *should* be 'obliged, to make advances to the needy villagers for seed, for the 'purchase of cattle, and for alleviating calamities of the seasons. 'He is obliged to renew old wells, to dig new ones, and to in-'cur a pretty considerable figure in nuzzurs to the *Qanungo*, 'the *Tahsildar*, and the *Darogah* of police. None of these 'items are ever taken into account; and, however much the 'notion of allowing, or conviving at, such fees may be repudiat-'ed, yet *they are extorted;* and, therefore, some allowances 'should be made for this *secret service* expence. Let any one 'that is doubtful purchase a pair of oxen and a plough, and 'cultivate one, or five, or ten *bigahs* of land. Let him set 'down carefully every item of expenditure, including the ex-'pence of irrigation. Let him add to all this the ground rent

'to the *zemindar*, and the interest on the money expended. 'Then take the current or average price of grain and bhusa, 'and set both calculations of expenditure and profit in juxta- 'position, and he will then have some notion of the large pro- 'fits of an agriculturist."

From the nature of many of the preceding revelations, it takes us by surprize, as it will our readers, to find that several chapters still remain, which are specially devoted to the Civil Courts. Judicial functions are largely distributed among the magistrates and collectors; but the Civil Courts form a separate department or system. These are composed, in the Regulation Provinces of Bengal, of Munsiffs, Sudder Amins, Principal Sudder Amins, Zillah Judges, and the highest court, (merely of appeal and superintendence,) the Sudder Dewani Adalut. We shall give a few extracts from our hero respecting this great department:—

"I have endeavoured to expose a few of the blemishes in the 'administration of the revenue and criminal departments, and 'I shall now notice the *Dewani Adalut*. My readers will not 'expect much legal knowledge from '*An Orderly;*' so I shall 'confine myself to noticing facts that have occurred, and which 'do occur every day, in these Courts, and the truth of which 'may be verified by any one, that choses to make enquiry of 'the *people*. With all the present extra machinery of Govern- 'ment in this department, the several grades of *Munsiffs*, '*Sudder Amins, Principal Sudder Amins* and learned Judges, 'the system does not work to the satisfaction of the people. 'As in a piece of machinery having a multiplicity of wheels, 'the stoppage of a minor wheel will prevent the revolution of 'the larger ones, so in the machinery of the *Dewani* Courts 'the wheels are sometimes checked—now at the small end, pre- 'sently at a medium one, and again at the main wheel, which 'appears to move all the rest,—and the whole will not go on 'smoothly, until they are sufficiently greased by the '*oil of* '*palms*' in the minor division. And here I would have it dis- 'tinctly understood, that my remarks will apply not to any 'individual, or to any zillah; but to the whole system, as a 'machine, in which there are some screws loose.

"As in duty bound, let me begin at the lowest end, and shew 'how justice is done by a *Munsiff*. The son of a *Lalla* earn- 'ing *ten rupees* a month, who from childhood is, of necessity, 'conversant with all the petty chicanery and fraud practised 'around him, becomes a *Mohurir*, or writer to a *Vakil*. He 'is brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, like Paul, to become

'a persecutor; and, as in Paul's case, a miracle must be worked 'for his conversion. After a few years the lad finds that he 'can aptly quote the regulation, or construction, or precedent, 'which gained such and such a case. He has a tenacious me- 'mory, and is naturally sharp-witted, and aspires to become 'a *Munsiff*. He fees the *Serishtadar*, who certifies to his 'respectability to the Judge, who allows his name to be 'entered as a candidate; and he is permitted to stand an 'examination.

*

"No questions are put to test their having been well grounded 'in jurisprudence; no attempt to ascertain the nature of their 'education, and the depth or shallowness of their understand- 'ing. The lad passes his examination, receives his diploma, 'and, when a vacancy occurs, and fortune favors him, he is 'elevated to the rank and office of a *Munsiff*."

Our hero illustrates the action of this part of the judicial machine by a case, the main features of which are the same as have already been several times given, and therefore we need not repeat them. Our author blames the system, not the individuals. He insinuates that the Munsiffs are generally selected from the lowest classes of the people. Government probably could shew reams of foolscap fairly written, containing plans to purify and elevate them, but without effect,—we may say like most of the good intentions of Government. If an honorable man, who would refuse bribes, by chance, or by the exertions of friends who know his merit, gets into this class, the umlah and other native agents, by all sorts of conspiracy, will be sure to get rid of him. Cases of this kind have actually happened: and we fear that maxims, and habits, and interests, prevail at the India house, which entirely disqualify the body there, from effecting a reformation. They can shew fine plans; admirable correspondence; but no real fruits in performance.

"Between the *Munsiff*, and the superior grades to which he 'may rise, the only difference consists in their different salaries, 'and their degrees of power. The nature of the man continues 'the same, but his appetite is increased; and why should this 'surprise people? A *nuzzur* varies in proportion to the status 'of the party to whom it is offered; and an offering to a small 'deity, which will be held meet for his dignity, will be an insult 'to a bigger one, who has been used to hecatombs. In all 'these grades of office, as in most others, a great evil exists; I 'allude to the mode adopted of judging of an official's ability 'and efficiency by certain statements which are called for

'monthly by the superior courts. These forms are dry statis-
'tics of work done; they cannot shew *how* that work was
'done. Some of the most efficient and honest of our judicial
'officers, those who are most popular with the *people*, are those
'that are in bad repute with the *Sudder*."

How can a Government set up a standard of qualification, or character for native judges, when it has none for the European? Our author's picture of the latter, both as it respects past times and present, is instructive, though less satisfactory than most of his other Revelations: and we surmise that his own personal experience has chiefly been in the magisterial and revenue departments.

"'*In the good old days*,' when judges received the munificent
'salary of 300 *rupees* per mensem, the practice of the Courts
'was to extort in fees, from the plaintiff and defendant, so much
'as to enable the judges to live in splendour, and to retire
'with princely fortunes. The late Mr. Brooke used frequently
'to relate, how he was enabled to live up to ten thousand ru-
'pees a month, when his Honorable Masters paid him *three*
'*hundred!* Every petition, that was presented, was not filed
'until the party had given a fee to the *Huzur*, in proportion
'to the amount or value of the property contested. This was
'done, as a matter of course, until the final proceeding, when
'the party who gained the cause presented the judge with a
'*Shukranah*, (or thanksgiving-offering). Since those days,
'a very different system of payment has been adopted, and the
'fees are pocketed by Government, in the shape of proceeds of
'stamps. The restrictions on every class of public officers have
'produced a salutary effect; but every order may be evaded.
'Even the order lately passed, directing every judge to write
'the summing-up (*wujuhat*) in his own hand-writing, is prac-
'tised in letter, but not in spirit. In many instances, the
'*Serishtadar* writes the *rubukari* as usual; the English wri-
'ter translates the summing-up; and the judge corrects it, and
're-writes it! Others again, who are men of talent, and quite
'capable of doing their duty have not leisure for the purpose:
'They are busy in playing at billiards, shooting, or horse-
'racing; so the work, for which they are paid, is left to be
'done by their native officials. But, generally speaking, these
'are solitary exceptions, and not the rule.

"There used to be a very common practice in former years, that
'gentlemen, who were found unqualified for the important duties
'of Collector of revenue, were promoted to judgeships. My
'readers will doubtless call to mind several such. There was

'one, very well known in this neighbourhood, who was notori-
'ously the puppet of his *Serishtadar*. This latter worthy used
'to wait in person on the *Huzur* every morning, with a list of
'the cases that would be called on that day; and the *Saheb*
'*Judge* wrote against each case, '*decree*' or '*dismiss*,' as he
'was prompted. In full *Kacheri*, after going through the farce
'of hearing all the pleadings and depositions, he would decide,
'as had been previously concerted. The *Serishtadar*, although
'very corrupt, was a very able officer; and the *Saheb* not only
'seldom had his orders reversed, but was accounted a *wise per-*
'*sonage* by the *Sudder*. This gentleman could not tolerate
'the idea of an European being in Court, as a party. One day,
'a respectable English planter, who had a case in Court, and
'who could not account for the delay, went in person into the
'court. The sapient judge in a blustering voice demanded his
'business. He submitted that he had business, and respect-
'fully enquired, whether the court was not an open one? No,
'sir, was the rejoinder; it is not. Go out, sir, and send your
'constituted *Vakil!*"

The dependence of the English judge on his native umlahs is repeatedly dwelt upon, and always as an unmixed evil; because the umlahs are entirely unworthy of confidence. The dependence is, we fear, necessary and inevitable; but it may be rendered, we believe, less fruitful of all kinds of mischief than at present. How? is the question. We can reply here only in general terms; by altering the constitution of the courts, and putting in the place of the present umlahs and judges, men of different qualifications, and in other mutual relations. The case of a judge turning an English suitor, or defendant, out of his court, as cited above, could scarcely happen a second time. But our countrymen are under every sort of disadvantage in Mofussil litigation. They are obliged to speak and to write the native language, that is, the language of their adversary, whether they are plaintiffs or defendants; and where both plaintiff and defendant are English, they must still use the language of the court, that is, the vernacular language of the district, though the judge be an Englishman. Thus, treated as natives, they are reduced to the necessity of employing the same agency as natives do; and thereby they become involved in the prevailing system. The only instance, in which the advantage of using his native language is given to an Englishman, is, when both parties agree to employ, for advocacy alone, English vakils or counsel. Native prejudices are supposed to be consulted in these arrangements;—and some native interests, besides public convenience;

and it is said, it would involve enhanced expence to the suitors, extensively to substitute the English language in law proceedings. But there is a medium in all things; as for expence to the suitors, a remission of the taxes on law proceedings would afford an ample pecuniary indemnification; and as for prejudices, if our rulers could renounce their own, those of the natives would soon give way, when it was found, that with the language of their rulers, was also introduced scientific jurisprudence, and that the foul harpies that now fill the courts had to give place to virtuous and educated men;—men, we mean, not only of our own race, but those to whom justice is not yet being done—men, who have learnt our language, and lost their own, and to whom Government has held out hitherto only hopes, but not opened any important public employments.

Our limits oblige us here to conclude our extracts and comments. But we must add a few words in answer to an objection which we anticipate may be made to them. It may be said that we have treated as history and matter of fact, what is really mere fiction. We reply the whole is essentially true; the form only is that of a work of fiction. This and other objections may come from various classes of persons, united only in a common feeling, unfavorable to our author, and perhaps to ourselves. Mere official pride will excite the resentment of some. But there are no less safe councillors and guides than *class-feelings*. The "revelations" are not the less true, though they must inevitably lower the Government and the Civil Service, in general estimation. We admit, and we regret this result; but at the same time, our regrets are the seed of our hopes; and we congratulate ourselves and mankind that the present is an age, when the love of truth is paramount, when all false worships are fast losing their holds, and men will not bow down, after the veil is drawn aside, and the objects behind it appear to be but golden calves and painted idols.

Others will demur from a feeling of real incredulity. They cannot believe in the possibility of such a state of things. There is a respectable sort of nationality in this feeling. They could believe it, of the French Government in Algeria, of the Pachás in Egypt, of the Sultans in Turkey, or of any semi-barbarous oriental or Mahomedan domination. It is not an impossibility in the nature of governments, or of things; but they cannot believe it, where the chief moving powers are Englishmen. But only suppose, that the East India Company is behind the nation,—and it becomes credible. Power is in the hands, not only, of a few (for to that there may be no sound

practical objection); but of a few, who have peculiar objects, habits, and interests of their own, and barely catch a reflection of the light which shines on all other persons.

For many reasons these revelations are entitled to be regarded as real. They are intended to be a picture of actual experience. This is as certain, as that they are written by a real person. In the sport of fancy, the author desires to make a certain and true impression; and, in his preface and conclusion, he avows that his objects are to expose abuses, and bring about a reformation. These revelations then, are the testimonies of a well-informed individual, and really better, as evidence to guide the British statesman, than what the Company is likely to adduce before Committees of Parliament. Their key-note again will be, as it was in 1831, that of alarm at projected change; but they will not exhibit the actual present state of things.

As to the value of these revelations, not only are they intended to make true impressions, but the impressions, which they make, precisely accord with all the real testimonies which we have heard from residents in the Mofussil, and persons of much Indian experience, not being in complicity with the existing system. For the sake of British interests, and the interests of humanity, we desire this truth to be declared and known. By the bad state of the law and police, in short of all the local adminstrations, it is hardly possible for our countrymen to establish themselves beyond the presidency towns. For every one European, there would be 100 under a proper system. From the same causes, British capital is wasted in every operation. A lakh and a half, or £15,000 sterling, for instance, is required for an operation, which, but for mis-government, would require but a lakh, or £10,000. We name a sum but to illustrate proportions. In the actual results, for thousands, we must substitute millions. The merchant, the manufacturer, the political economist, can deduce from this, the true consequences;—to be found, as we apprehend, in enhanced prices, checked production, diminished exchanges, and a state of things, though prosperous, less so by fifty per cent. than it might be under a better government.

But native interests and native industry are still more seriously injured than European, except so far as they are mutually dependent. Property is without legal protection. Zemindar is pitted against Zemindar; law and justice have no real part in the struggle. The Zemindar indemnifies himself by oppressing the rural population; but the rights of the cultivator are

without protection. No man can tell what rights he has; or when, or how, bribery, perjury, forgery, and all the vices illustrated by our hero, may not be brought to bear against him. Hence also monopolies in all directions, and all sorts of tyrannies and terrors on a large scale, every where prevail. For example hence arises the lattial (club) system of the indigo planter, whose rich produce enables him to pay armed bands, for aggression or for defence, it matters not which. This is one of the signs of mis-government. He resorts to force, because there is no justice to be had throughout the land. Hence again, for example, such monopolies as the coal monopoly in the great Burdwan coal field, where a Company, with possessions covering less than five square miles, has put down competition, though the coal strata extend through seven or eight hundreds of square miles. Entreaty, remonstrance, every sort of representation have been made over and over again by capitalists and adventurers, to Government:—but in vain. By this monopoly,—this mere fruit of cupidity, to which opportunity is given by mal-administration,—not only is a large district kept a howling wilderness, and its population in the habits of barbarism, where multiplied capital might and would produce its happiest transformations; but we in Calcutta also sensibly feel the consequences, in the enhanced cost of steam power of all kinds, whether employed for carriage, or for production. And here again we ask the merchant and political economist to deduce the more remote consequences; how it is as bad as a tax on our steam boats, without any profit to Government; and how it robs the proprietors of them, of the fair fruits of *their* enterprize and capital; how it is a tax on the sugar, which Lancashire takes in exchange for cotton fabrics; and a tax on these fabrics, when steam is employed in carrying them to the markets of consumption. Nothing is without its consequences; nothing stands alone: the consequences of Indian mis-government extend to the people of England; and the character, the honour, the power, the commercial greatness, the glory, the very life-blood of Great Britain, suffer by all the vices, so ably illustrated by our friend Paunchkouri Khan.

ART. IV.—1. *The Vishnu Purána, translated from the original Sanscrit, by H. H. Wilson, M. A. F. R. S.*, 1 *vol.* 4*to. London*, 1840.

2. *The Mahábhárata*, 4 *vols.* 4*to. Calcutta*, 1836-39.

3. *The Ramáyana*, 5 *vols.* 8*vo. Serampore*, 1802.

4. *Goladhyáya, edited by L. Wilkinson, Esq. Calcutta*, 1842.

5. *Grahalaghava, edited by L. Wilkinson, Esq. Calcutta*, 1843.

6. *Ganitadhyáya, edited by L. Wilkinson, Esq. Calcutta*, 1842.

7. *Asiatic Researches*, 4*to. London and Calcutta*, 1799.

8. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta*, 1832.

IT is our object, in this article, to give a faithful picture of the state of living physical science amongst the higher and middle classes of orthodox Hindu society, and to record the monstrous physical errors, which, (in this city especially) forced into strange and unnatural juxta-position with the triumphs and discoveries of the 19th century, yet form the undoubting belief, not only of the multitude, but of nearly all learned and intelligent Hindus.*

To speak of physical errors in a religious system, appears, at first sight, a glaring contradiction in terms. But, with regard to Hinduism, this is more an apparent than a real contradiction; since it at once disappears, when we come fully to understand the nature and constitution of this grand system of religion.

It is a marked and peculiar feature in the character of Hinduism, that, instead of confining itself within the proper and lawful bounds prescribed to every theological system, it interferes with, and treats of, every department of secular knowledge, which human genius has ever invented; so, that gram-

* This paper is the production of a young native gentleman, entirely educated in the Free Church Institution, in which he is at present employed as a teacher.

In a slightly different form, it obtained a prize, given by the proprietor of the *Calcutta Review*, for the best account of the physical errors of Hinduism:—and hence its appearance is peculiarly appropriate in these pages. Its chief title to public notice however rests upon the fact, that the information, which it conveys, has not been obtained from books, but exclusively from the lips of learned and intelligent Pandits in Calcutta; and it may be relied on as a faithful and accurate account of the present state of science amongst them. The references to the Puránas, &c., are, so far as we have traced them, in every instance, correct; and, when it is remembered how much of the youthful author's time is occupied by a laborious and exhausting profession, it appears to us, that both the amount of information accumulated, and the manner in which it has been obtained, indicate remarkable sagacity and powers of observation, and high promise for the future. Several omissions and verbal corrections have been made; but otherwise the original is unaltered.—ED.

mar, geography, physics, law, medicine, metaphysics, &c., do each form as essential a part of Hinduism, as any religious topic with which it is concerned. Indeed a person, who has not studied Hinduism in all its parts, can scarcely form an adequate notion of the vastness of its extent. And those foreigners, who, after incredible labour and much expence, have acquired some knowledge of this religion, have been obliged to confess this truth by applying to it such titles as "huge," "gigantic," and the like.

It is indeed true that a system, professedly religious, may sometimes allude to, or incidentally take notice of, certain points belonging to any department of secular knowledge, for the sake of illustration, without incurring the charge of having transgressed its legitimate bounds. But in such cases, where any point of philosophy, or human science, is brought to illustrate religious doctrines or sentiments, it is always necessary to remember, that we take that point as a truth already established and universally known, and not as a new discovery, that is now going for the first time to be made known to the world. Indeed fables might be framed, or known fables introduced, for the same purpose; which serves to show, in a very strong manner, that whatever example is used, whether it be a point of philosophy, history, or an invented tale, to expound any truth or sentiment in a system of religion, must be viewed merely in the light of an illustration. All that we have to do with, is the purport, sense, meaning, or bearing of the illustration, and not its correctness or incorrectness in itself. But the case is quite different with the writers of the Hindu Shastras. In their religious works, they have treated of all the branches of secular knowledge known among them, in a regular, systematic manner; and have given them out to the world in a tone of absolute authority, from which there could be no appeal. Or rather, with a view to secure the universal belief of the people, they have sanctified with the name of religion, whatever they have been pleased to conjecture on any subject, secular or spiritual.

The Hindus accordingly, receive information on all subjects, historical, literary, scientific, or theological, from the mouths of the Brahmans alone; who, in their turn, have no other fountain of knowledge, than their own sacred writings. The Shastras are made the standards of all sorts of knowledge; and the disagreement of any opinion with them is regarded a sure proof of its fallaciousness. Whatever is contained in them, or whatever has passed by, and come down, under the sacred name of Shastra, *must* be received as true, without the faintest shadow of doubt:

and, whatever differs from them, must be rejected as spurious and false, simply on the ground of its not coinciding with the infallible doctrines of the holy writ. The act of doubting a point, which rests on the authority of the Shastras, is always followed by the severest anathemas;—the rejection of it is deemed nothing less than downright infidelity. Freedom of enquiry on any subject, the exercise of one's own mind, and thinking and judging for one's own self, are not only wholly unpractised, but are thought to amount to a crime. Accordingly there prevails, among the orthodox Hindus, such a mean and dastardly spirit, that it is ever ready to give its assent,—its amen,—to any thing and every thing, whether it be reasonable or unreasonable, wise or foolish, true or false, if it has only had the honor of having come out from the lips of the Brahman, the sole interpreter of the Shastras.

The genius of Hinduism imperatively requires, that every thing should be stereotyped. There is no word in the whole vocabulary of the Sanskrit language, expressing the idea of a new edition. We, who have the privilege of enjoying the benefits of western civilization, can scarcely be brought to feel the force of the strictures, laid upon freedom of thinking, by the narrow-minded and meanly jealous authors of our national religion. Even the Brahmans, who are said to be its guardians, are sternly required to listen to its dictates in all matters, as the only rule and guide of their conduct; and any deviation from it is threatened with heavy and dreadful penalties, both in the present world, and in the world to come. And the submission of the Brahmans to the injunctions of the Shastras is as complete, as the demands of the latter are broadly absurd and unreasonable.

Such is the despotic sway, with which these Shastras rule the consciences of their followers, and such is the slavish subjection which they exact from them, that gross absurdities and glaring contradictions, such as lie exposed even to the view of a child, are blindly passed by unnoticed. Or, if they inadvertently happen to perceive them, they immediately begin to suspect themselves of being guilty of blasphemy, and soothe their minds, and satisfy their consciences, by the ever-satisfactory argument, that "Whatever the Shastras say, can never be untrue." Such being the state of the native mind, we need no longer wonder, why the ancient Hindu writings should descend to us, through many centuries, untouched, unaltered, and unimproved. When two opposite theories on the same point,—as we shall have afterwards many occasions to see,—are *both* received as true, only because they have

both found a place in the Shastras, how can we reasonably expect, that any alteration in them could ever be thought of by such a credulous and cowardly people?

We need not wonder then, that the Hindu Shastras abound with physical errors of every kind and species. Science, we know, on the authority of universal history, has never been brought to perfection all at once, by the capacity, or efforts, of one single individual sage, or philosopher, however capacious his mind may have been, and how far soever he may have surpassed the people of his age, in point of genius, and acuteness of understanding; nor could even the united efforts of a body of philosophers, all living at the same time, accomplish the task. There is such a thing as the infancy of science, when, like the faculties of an infant child, or the properties of a rising bud, all its parts are not equally developed. Time matures the one, as the others; and this act of maturing is a gradual process in each case, with this difference only, that it is much slower in the former, than in the latter. Days mature a bud, and it blows into a flower: years bring a child to manhood, with the perfection of its faculties: but centuries are required, to make a science see its days of perfection. Truth never flows in profusion, like the waters of a fountain, or the drops of autumnal rain from the skies of Bengal; but comes out in sparks, like those that are struck out of the flint stone. Neither can you gather truth, like the flowers of a garden or wilderness, without labour or cost; but you must STRIKE, before you can expect to get the least spark. Universal nature is the great flint stone, and the genius of man, the steel; the one must be struck with the other, to bring out the sparks of truth.

Again the first efforts of the human mind, on scientific topics, as on every other, are crude and immature. Time, as we have already observed, perfects them, by the slow and gradual process of purging off the dross. No philosopher is known to have been altogether free from error. Whatever philosophers have given, especially those of ancient days, is found to be a mixture of truth and error. Out of this alloy, truth has been wrought, by continual and repeated processes of refinement, at the sacrifice of enormous sums of money, and incredible labour both of mind and body. Were such processes ever known among the sages of Hindustan? Would the philosophers of our country suffer their systems to be subjected to the scrutiny of others? And is there such boldness in the hearts of our countrymen, as to call in question, and subject to experiment, the statements of their

ancient teachers?—Neither our philosophers, on the one hand, who reckoned themselves to be infallible, would submit their opinions to the examination of those, whom they considered as little better than brutes; nor do the mass of our countrymen, on the other hand, possess such bravery and nobleness of mind, as to come forward, as improvers or reformers of the religion of their forefathers, and to subject to correction the writings of those, whom they either equal with the gods, or at least believe to be divinely inspired. What must then be the consequence of such presumption on the part of the one, and such slavish credulity on the part of the other? What else can it be, but that the theories, or conjectures, which have once been formed on scientific subjects by the ancient sages of India, exist in the same, crude, imperfect, and erroneous form, in which they were for the first time given to the world?

The Hindu Shastras are most copious on the subjects of geography and astronomy. Of the other physical sciences, we receive nothing but brief, dark and confused notices. The Indian sages of yore, handled, we read, such branches of knowledge, as natural philosophy, botany, anatomy, chemistry, &c.; but their knowledge of these subjects appears to have been peculiarly superficial, and extremely scanty. With regard to many of them we find nothing more than mere references made in the Shastras; and scarcely any one of them has been treated in a systematic or scientific form.

Again, limited as the knowledge of our countrymen is on scientific topics, that knowledge is remarkable only for extravagance of imagination, wildness of thought, and inaccuracy of description. The Hindu authors appear to have made their own imaginations, the only fountain of knowledge, and to have drawn from them information on every subject of human learning. Observation and experiment were not only wholly unused, but thought to be perfectly useless and unimportant. Truth had no charm in their sight. Nothing, but what was pompous, gaudy, splendid, brilliant, and marvellous, could find an admittance into their speculations. Nature, with her unfading and inexhaustible beauties, was a dead blank to their eyes. They strove to create for themselves imaginary worlds, filled with imaginary objects, and adorned with imaginary beauties. Whenever they stood in need of information, or wanted to account for any natural phenomenon, instead of applying to the real sources of knowledge, observation, experiment, intuition, &c., they adopted a very apt method of arriving at all knowledge, and solving every difficulty. They shut themselves into their respective closets, and there each

began to spin such a theory out, as might best suit his own liking. Hence, while the Hindu Shastras teem with wonders the most unnatural, and abound with errors the most ridiculous, they are equally distinguished for glaring contradictions, as we shall have afterwards many occasions to see.

Before proceeding further, we think it both necessary and advisable, to ascertain and enumerate what those works are, which, among the old Sanskrit writings of Hindustan, have come down as Shastras, that is, as authoritative writings, and which have always been honored, and are still respected, as the standards of the Hindu religion. This we do, partly for the purpose of corroborating the assertion, we have before made, that natural science, and other branches of secular knowledge, form as essential parts of Hinduism, as any purely theological subjects treated therein; and partly, because the upstart Vedantists of the present day, reckon every other Sanskrit work, as spurious and heretical, except the Vedas, and the commentaries upon them.

The Hindu Shastras are enumerated and classified, in the following manner, by the Hindus themselves:—

I. The four Vedas, viz. the Rik, Yayush, Sáma, and Atharva.

II. The Vedangas, or six Angas, or bodies of learning, (treatises subsidiary to the Vedas); comprehending, (1) Siksha, rules for reciting the Vedas; (2) Kalpa, treating of the ritual of the Vedas, and containing a detail of religious acts and ceremonies; (3) Vyákarana, treating of grammar; (4) Nirukta, or commentaries in the form of glosses; (5) Chhandas, or dissertations on metres; (6) Jyotish, explanatory of astronomy and astrology. These works are said to have been given by inspiration of God, to enable the Brahmans to read and understand the Vedas. Here, then, is a double inspiration,—that of the Vedas, and that of the Angas, which form the key, by which the Vedas are opened.

III. The Upángas, or inferior bodies of learning; namely, the Mimánsá, comprehending theology; Nyáya, logic and metaphysics; Dharma-shastra, institutes of law; and the Puránas, or legendary treatises, eighteen in number.

IV. The Tantras, containing rites of a most secret nature, some of which are exceedingly impure, by which a man is said to become Sheddya, or supernaturally gifted. They are also the great source, from which are drawn almost all the *Mantras*, by which the different manifestations of Shiva and Sakti are worshipped.

This enumeration is in perfect accordance with numerous

Hindu authorities. "The four Vedas," says the Vishnu Purána, "the six Angas, with Mimánsá, Nyáya, Dharma, and the Puránas, constitute the fourteen principal branches of knowledge: or, they are considered as eighteen, with the addition of these four, the Ayur-Veda, medical science as taught by Dhanwantari; Dhanur-Veda, the science of archery or arms, taught by Bhrigu; Gándharba-Veda, or the drama, and the arts of music, dancing, &c., of which the Muni Bharata was the author; and the Artha-Shastra, or science of Government, as laid down first by Vrihaspati." Though this Purána does not take any notice of the Tantras, yet we can safely affirm, that they form one of the great standards of the Hindus.

We shall notice first the *Geographical* errors, contained in the Hindu Shastras. The Hindus possess no treatise, that treats exclusively of geography. Systematic, or methodical, knowledge of this subject is not found among them. Indeed, geographical instruction, in the true acceptation of the term, is not to be got from any work, which forms a part of the Hindu Shastras. All that we meet with, on this head, are either mere references to geography, or information respecting the origin of the world, the rise of continents and islands, the mode in which the seas were formed, &c.; subjects, which more properly belong to cosmogony, than to geography. In some of the Puránas only, we find certain books, or sections, devoted solely to this subject, such as the fifth book of the Srimat Bhágabata the second book of the Vishnu Purána, and certain chapters of some other Puránas, as the Brahmá, Márkándeya, and Brahmánda, Puránas. But the geographical notices, which they contain, are chiefly remarkable for lawless extravagance of description. They speak of countries, mountains, rivers, &c., which are nowhere to be found on the surface of the real globe, and the very names of which do not appear in the writings of any other nation under the sun. The descriptions which they give of continents, seas, mountains, &c., are not geographical delineations, but high colored effusions of poetry, such as flow from excited imaginations.

I. The Hindu Shastras widely differ from, and flatly contradict, one another, in regard to the form of the earth.

The popular notion, which is maintained by some of the Puránas, is, that the earth is a flat plain of a *triangular* form. This idea has evidently arisen from the shape of India, which is like that of a triangle. As the Hindus, if not always, at least from a remote period, were forbidden to pass beyond the limits of their country,—all their knowledge was necessarily confined within the boundaries of Hindustan, which they gradually

came to look upon as the whole world. Natural circumstances assisted them to fall deeply into this error. India being on all sides either surrounded by water, or bounded by lofty chains of mountains,—its inhabitants, ignorant of the art of navigation, and unable to cross the mountains, naturally concluded, that there was nothing beyond the boundaries of their own observation. And though time and knowledge have enabled men to form paths over the mountains, and to sail over the wild ocean, yet the veneration, in which the Shastras are held by the Hindus, is so deep, and the word of the priest so powerful, that they still obstinately and blindly adhere to their erroneous notions, although contradicted by the experience of the whole world. Some Brahmans, especially those that have any intercourse with the European community, and have received some notion of the European method of investigating science, seem to be ashamed of their own Shastras, and positively deny, that the Puránas maintain the triangular form of the earth. A Pandit of no common rate, being asked by us, What is the shape of the earth, according to the Shastras? replied, "it is round like a *Bátábi Lebu*," a species of lemon, larger than an orange, but of the same form. His comparison, and our knowledge of his occupation,—for he is a teacher in the Fort William College,—made us suspect his honesty; and, being pressed, he tried to evade our questions by citing slokas, or texts, which had nothing to do with the matter in question. We then, to satisfy our mind, went to the Tola Pundits, or Adhyápakas, as they are generally called, who have no connection whatever with the Europeans; and they unanimously supported us, by saying, that the popular notion of the earth's triangular form is not groundless, but is based upon several of the Puránas and Tantras. We can therefore safely conclude, that the triangular form of the earth is an orthodox doctrine of the Hindu Shastras.

(2). The same Puránas teach, that the earth is a *circular* plain. This notion seems to be a more learned one, since the Pandits generally adopt it. Indeed the grand system of geography, now universally embraced by the Hindus, as will afterwards be seen, can never be upheld without this supposition. Here then we find two notions widely differing from each other, equally supported by the same authorities, which are professed to have been given by inspiration of Heaven. But what can be plainer, than that the same thing cannot both be triangular and circular at the same time? The absurdity of upholding two such opposing theories seems to be felt by many a Brahman of the present day. Hence some, who are more

enlightened than the rest of that sacred class, really feel ashamed at these glaring contradictions contained in their holy writings; and, being utterly at a loss to account for them, begin to suspect the inviolable purity of the Shastras. Some would even go the length of refusing to admit the Puránas into the number of their sacred works. But this they do not dare openly do; for, so doing, they would run the risk of being condemned as heretics, by the great mass of the people. Those, who are of a more subtle turn of mind, come forward, with their ever ready and extravagant conjectures, and their unmeaning, dark, and intricate logic, to explain away the difficulty in question. "Why," say they, "where is the difficulty so loudly spoken of? Is no body aware of the fact of there being a succession of ages, in each of which a new world,—a new universe, is formed by the great Author of all things? If so, is there then any necessity for supposing the Shastras, which are eternal, to deal only with the things of the present age? Then, then, you see," the subtle Brahmins continue, with a proud, self-conceited air, "the difficulty melts away, just as wax does in contact with burning fire. In some age, (this they say exultingly), the earth was of a triangular, in some other age, of a circular form. What, what," they continue, with triumphant laughter, thinking, they have for ever put to silence their opposers, "what have you to say to this? Are you not satisfied?—you must be by this time." Such is the tenor and force of the arguments, which the clear headed Brahmans of the Naiyáika school, bring forward to reconcile the differences in their sacred writings. But what are we to think of a people, who greedily devour these explanations as the fruits of supernaturally improved intellects, or rather as suggestions, that can only proceed from inspired heads? Need we here add, considering the wide diffusion of sound European knowledge among the Hindus, that both these suppositions, respecting the form of the earth, are utterly false; and that its real shape, as found by actual and accurate observations, is nearly that of a sphere, or globe?

(3). Besides the notion of the earth's being a uniformly flat plain, of a triangular or circular form, there is still *another* opinion, on the same subject, entertained by some of the more scientific writers of ancient Hindustan. Bhaskar Acharjya, of illustrious memory among the Hindu writers of yore, has clearly taught, in his famous astronomical work *Siddhánta Siromani*, that the shape of the earth is that of a sphere. But this notion of the globular form of the earth is now almost buried in oblivion, notwithstanding its philosophical accuracy;

though, when reminded of it, the Pandits of the present day, in spite of their obstinate attachment to the Puranic system, on which they absolutely depend for the success of their priestcraft, cannot but admit it, as an orthodox doctrine of the Hindu Shastras. It is because of the wide spread of the Puranic knowledge among the people of this country, that this true theory respecting the form of the earth, like some other sparks of truth, scattered here and there through the voluminous and unwieldy gatherings of oriental nonsense, has become all but obsolete.

II. With regard to the support of the earth, the authors of the Hindu Shastras err as egregiously, as respecting its shape or form ; nor do they less contradict one another in the former, than in the latter instance.

One supposition, and that which is the most popular, is, that the earth rests on the thousand heads of the infernal dragon Ananta, the great serpentine manifestation of Vishnu. The Hindu philosophers, who were always in the habit of judging from appearances, felt a great difficulty in conceiving how the earth could stand in empty space, without a prop, when they saw everything on its surface, unsupported, fall to the ground. While, therefore, they were thus compelled to assign an imaginary support for the earth, they felt, at the same time, the necessity of supposing that support to be without an end ; for the difficulty in question is not at all removed by any supposition, which makes the prop of the earth a finite object ; as, in this case, the same question, that was started in the beginning, can with equal force be asked again. Hence the Hindu writers, very ingeniously, as they themselves considered it, made the great upholder of the earth to be a monstrous serpent without termination ; and thought thereby to remove all the difficulty, that lay in the way, of accounting for the position of the earth in the immensity of space. How narrow must have been the knowledge of these sages, the boasted models of wisdom, and how limited the capacities of their understanding, not to have known the simple fact, that the earth requires no support at all ?

But this is not all. The theory of the interminable serpent was too simple to suit the minds of *all* the Hindu philosophers. They must have something more complicated, more prodigious, and more marvellous,—something better adapted to the peculiar turn of the native mind, which takes delight in nothing, but the most fantastic dreams of the imagination. Accordingly, the Hindu philosopher begins to work in his fancy, and brings out a theory, as remarkable for its novelty,

as for its wildness and extravagance. "The earth," says he, "is first placed on the heads of Ananta, which again stands on the back of a tortoise, which in its turn is supported by eight elephants, standing on eight sides." Though, in point of accuracy, both the former and the present theory stand on the same footing,—for they are both equally erroneous,—yet, viewed merely as theories, this is far inferior to the other. For it does in no way, not even by supposition, as the other does, clear the difficulty, which it proposes to remove. It gives no answer to the question, if the earth rest on a serpent, and the serpent on a tortoise, and the tortoise on eight elephants, what supports the elephants? We are aware, that many, who, without reading the original Shastras, receive the theory from the Pandits orally, are led to invert or change the order of the animals supposed to support the earth, placing Ananta always at the lower extremity, as a supposition more natural, and better calculated to solve the problem in dispute. But, whatever others may think, there is unquestionable authority to support the theory, as we give it. For instance, when Ráma, the great hero of the solar race, went to the kingdom of Mithila to compete for the hand of Jánaki, by breaking the formidable bow Gándiva, and, being animated with the spirit of chivalry, took the almost inflexible bow in his hand;—Lakshmana, his fond and favorite step-brother, looking at the furious aspect assumed by Ráma on the occasion, and feeling the ground tremble under his feet, addressed the earth and its supporters, in the following words:—

"O earth! do thou support the weight of Ráma: O Ananta! do thou sustain the burden of the earth and Ráma put together: O Kúrma Deva! uphold the weight of Ráma, the earth, and Ananta, all three combined; and O Dig Hastis! support the accumulated weight of Ráma, the earth, Ananta, and Kúrma, all put together."

Observe then the blindness of the Hindus, and the ignorance of their ancient teachers. If the necessity of a prop was felt by the sages of India, to keep the earth from falling to the depths of illimitable space, how did the theory framed obviate the supposed difficulty? To suppose a support of the earth, where there is none, is itself a gross error: to say, that that support is an enormous serpent with a thousand heads, which no man has ever seen, is highly to aggravate that error; but to maintain, that, besides the unknown dragon, there are eight stupendous elephants, and a mighty tortoise, sustaining the earth, is such a puerile extravagance of conception, that a parallel instance can scarcely be found, even in the romances and fables of the most rude and

uncultivated nation. The Pandit, whom we consulted on this point, and who cited the foregoing sloka of the Ramáyana, seemed to be utterly bewildered, when asked, What supports the lowermost elephants? After a long pause, he made the following reply:—"Why may not the elephants rest on the waters that are supposed to be below the earth;" "Yes," we said, "when we can suppose a thousand-headed serpent, a tortoise, and eight elephants under the earth, it is but an easy affair to imagine a subterranean ocean!"

Before we dismiss the consideration of this point, we think it proper to record the opinion of Bhaskar Achárjya in this place, for the sake of doing justice to his memory. Instead of following the foolish popular notion of the earth's resting on the heads of the serpent Ananta, the author of the *Siddhanta Sirománi* was of opinion, "that the earth is suspended in the air, by the hand of the Deity."

III. Nothing can exceed the grandeur, and at the same time, the wildness of the *theories*, of the Hindu geographers, regarding the superficies of the earth. For, what are called geographical descriptions in the Hindu scriptures can be viewed in no other light than as mere theories, although they are given with as much confidence, as a thorough conviction of their truth would warrant.

There appear to be two grand theories of the earth, brought forward in the sacred writings of the Hindus. The first of these supposes the world to be composed of seven concentric islands, or continents, which are separated from each other by as many seas, consisting of liquids very different in their natures. The following statement of this magnificent system we chiefly draw from the second book of the Vishnu Purána, which contains sixteen chapters, and treats of the earth, and the things above and below it. Of the seven great insular continents, Jambu is placed in the centre of the world. It is of a circular form, and surrounded by the sea of saltwater (Lavána). Next in order is the Plaksha Dwípa, which encircles the sea of saltwater, in the form of a belt, and is itself surrounded by the sea of sugar-cane juice (Ikshu). Then follow in regular succession, the Sálmali, Kúsa, Krauncha, Sáka, and Pushkara Dwípas, bounded severally by the seas of wine (Surá), of clarified butter (Sarpi or Ghee), of curds (Dadhi), of milk (Dugdha), and of fresh water (Jala). Beyond all these continents and seas, the Hindu geographers place a country of gold (Swarna Bhumi). This most extraordinary belt of land, according to their opinion, serves a very important purpose. It prevents the waters of the last, or the

furthermost ocean, from flowing off in all directions. Round this golden country, they imagine a circular chain of mountains, called Loká-loka. Beyond is the land of darkness, encompassed by the shell of the mundane egg.

But the most extravagant point, connected with this monstrous system, is perhaps the account given of the origin of the seven continents, and the seas by which they are divided. "Time was," says the inspired writer of the *Srimat Bhágavata*, "when the whole surface of the earth was one uniform and continuous plain, not intersected, as it since has been, by so many circular oceans. It was only at a later date, that the earth came to be so divided. Mark then the way in which the seas were produced. In the early part of the Satya Yug, or in the infancy of the world, there flourished an illustrious monarch, named Priyavrata, the son of Swayambhu, the first great king of the earth. This most beloved disciple of Vishnu, grieved at the inconvenience, under which his subjects labored in the darkness of night, proposed to himself the pleasant task of riding in his magnificent car, and giving light to the world, in the place of the Sun, after it was set in the west. And well might he undertake this business, for the splendour of his body equalled that of the meridian sun. Accordingly he rode in his splendid car, which had but a single wheel, and began to drive it with a motion as swift as that of the sun. He made only seven revolutions, and the furrows, which the wheel of his car made on the earth, became the seven mighty seas." It is much to be regretted, that while our author furnishes us with such a satisfactory account of the origin of the seven great oceans of the world, he leaves us in utter darkness, respecting the manner, in which they came to be filled with such sweet and pleasant contents;—especially, as we feel assured, that he could have given us, had he chosen, as much satisfaction on the latter head, as on the former.

The Hindu writers are as much mistaken, respecting the extent of the seas and continents, which form the system of the world, as respecting their origin and existence. They maintain in general, that each of the seven insular continents is twice the extent of that which precedes it, and that each sea is of the same extent with the country which it encloses. If therefore we take the extent of the Jambu Dwípa as unity, the extent of the sea of salt water should also be 1; that of the Plaksha Dwípa, and Ikshu sea, 2 respectively; that of Sálmali, and the sea of wine, 4 each; and so on of the rest, increasing in geometrical progression. The country of gold is said to be as large as the rest of the earth; and the breadth of the Loká-loka

mountains is equal to the tenth part of the central Dwípa. This seems to be very clear; but, under this apparent clearness, there is much ambiguity. What are we to understand by the *extent* of the seas and continents,—whether their breadth, or their circumference? We would not have entered on this useless and unprofitable discussion, had we not intended to record, in this place, the opinion of the Pandits on the subject, and the mode of reasoning which they employ to bring it to a decision,—which is too curious to be omitted. "Though the Puránas," say they, "in describing the extent of the seas and continents, seem to mean their breadth, yet as the seas were formed by the edge of the same wheel, they must all be of the same breadth; but, as it is said, that the extent of each sea is double the extent of that which precedes it, it is the circumference, not the breadth of the seas, that is thereby to be understood."

Such being the explanation given by the Pandits themselves, we need not in vain seek for a more satisfactory one, but proceed to notice the account given by the Hindu writers of the circumference of the *whole* earth.

With regard to the circumference of the earth, there is great difference of opinion. The generally received opinion on the subject, which is founded on some of the Puránas, is that the earth, with its continents and oceans, is 500,000,000 yojanas, or 4,000,000,000 miles, in extent. But, according to the Brahmánda Purána, the breath of Jambu is 100,000. Now following the rule above stated, that each continent is twice the extent of that which precedes it, and that the land of gold is equal in extent to the rest of the world, and that the breadth of the Loká-loka mountains is one-tenth of that of the central island, we first find the radius of the surface of the earth, and then from it we obtain something more than 304,860,000 yojanas for its circumference. Again the Tantras give an account different from both. According to the Shaiva Tantra, for instance, the circumference of the earth is said to be 25,350,000 yojanas only. Here then we have again one of the many instances in which Shastras contradict one another. But, which ever be the orthodox opinion, these accounts are all very far distant from the truth. Let us consider for a moment the magnitude of the error committed by the Hindu writers. The real circumference of the earth, as found by the most accurate observations and measurements, is only about 25,000 miles; but the Hindu sages maintain that it is one hundred and sixty thousand times that number. Indeed they make the circumference of the earth so prodigiously large, that it is more than sufficient to fill up the whole orbit of the earth round the sun.

One of the greatest defects in the character of the Hindu writers appears to have been an inordinate love for symmetrical arrangements of countries, mountains, rivers, &c.: and to this, geographical truth is unhesitatingly and at once sacrificed. They seem not to have had the slightest taste for natural beauties, which consist in points far different from harmony of numbers, and regularity of position. But, possessing only a relish for artificial painting, they have transferred their own notions to natural scenes and objects. Accordingly the delineations, which they have given of places on the surface of the earth, are purely artificial; and, possessing no regard for nature or truth, they have brought out, what may very properly be called, monstrous pictures of geographical nonsense, on the very face of which error is visibly stamped.

Priya Vrata, by the wheel of whose car the earth was divided into seven continents, had thirteen male children. Six of these embraced an ascetic life; the rest ruled the seven divisions of the earth. To Agnídhra was assigned the Jambu Dwípa; to Medhátithí, Plaksha; to Vápushmát, Sálmali; to Jyotishmat, Kúsa; to Dyutimat, Krauncha; to Bhavya, Sáka; and to Savala, Pushkara. With the exception of the sovereign of Jambu, each of the six other kings is said to have had *seven* sons, among whom he divided his kingdom into *seven* equal parts. Here there is only one point of similarity. But mark what follows. These *seven* divisions, in each of the six continents, are separated by *seven* chains of mountains, and *seven* rivers, lying breadth ways, and placed with such inclinations in respect to one another, that if a straight line be drawn through any chain of mountains or rivers, and its corresponding mountains or rivers on the other continents, and produced towards the central island, it would meet the centre of the earth. Now nature no where exhibits scenery like this. Marks of artificial contrivance are so palpably imprinted on this description, that were we even ignorant of all the parts of earth, except the narrow spot around our own dwelling, we would at once reject it, as a piece of elaborate fiction.

Among the number of countries, which we see on the maps of the real world, very few are wholly defined by natural boundaries; and, among these again, no two countries are bounded in the same way. But the Hindus will have all their countries, except those on the central island, similarly bounded,—and bounded by natural lines of demarkation, such as nowhere exist in the works of nature herself.

Agnidhra, to whose lot fell the central island of Jambu, had nine sons, among whom he equally portioned out his

dominions. The divisions of this Dwípa are not marked by any natural boundaries, but are artificial, with the exception of one, situated in the middle, in the form of a square, being on its four sides bounded by four ranges of mountains. It is but reasonable to expect, that the mode of *equally* dividing a continent, so circumstanced, must be something peculiarly curious. And so it is. The usual division of Jambu, (which, it must be remembered, is exactly of a circular form,) is into nine Khandas, or portions, which are perfectly equal in superficial contents, but of very different forms. Of these nine divisions, one, which is in the centre, is a perfect square; and, of the eight others, every two divisions are exactly of the same figure and dimensions. Conceive now the difficulty of dividing a circle in the manner above described. What mathematical formula enabled the ancient Hindus to solve this problem we long to know; and we heartily regret, that we do not find it in any parts of their writings. We are therefore led to conclude, that they must have been assisted in the task, by some of that supernatural agency, which they can so readily command.

The same extravagant, poetical tone is preserved by the authors of the Hindu Shastras, in their descriptions of mountains, countries, rivers, lakes, &c, as in those of seas and continents. The Hindu authors, when they describe these natural objects, seem to look at them through prisms and magnifying glasses, which show them adorned with the liveliest colors, and enormously distended in all directions.

Before proceeding any further, we should here remark, that the Hindu geographers seem to have formed to themselves a rule, which they are found nowhere to violate; viz., that of dividing the objects they treat of into two distinct classes, the *common*, and the *uncommon*. Of the former class, they generally give the bare names, or such descriptions as are remarkable only for brevity, and for the monotonous tone which pervades them. Accordingly, numberless names of mountains, countries, rivers, &c. are found in the Hindu Shastras; but of these we have scarcely been able to collect any thing further than their names. Very little is said about them in the Shastras.

Of the *uncommon* again, the descriptions of certain mountains are in the highest degree beautiful and magnificent, calculated to excite wonder, and delight the imagination, and well adapted to draw forth feelings of deep reverence in the minds of the vulgar.

In each of the nine divisions of the Central Dwípa, a

mountain, or a chain of mountains, is said to stand. In the centre of this continent stands the golden Meru, or Sumeru, the highest and the most exalted of all mountains. Towards the north are three ranges of mountains, Nila, Sweta, and Sringavan. Answering to these, in the south, are three other ranges, named Nishadha, Himacuta, and Himapráya. Between the ranges, to the north and south of Meru, the Puranics place two other ranges of mountains,—one on each side of Meru, running in a north and south direction. The western range is called Gandhamádana, and the eastern range, corresponding to the former, is known by the name of Mályavána. These are the nine chief hills, of which we propose to take some particular notice.*

We begin with the description of Mount Sumeru, the highest and the most glorious mountain on the face of the earth, according to the Hindus, who call it the great king of the hills, the mightiest sovereign of the mountains. It is the unanimous voice of all the Shastras, that mount Sumeru stands in the centre of the Earth, or, which is the same thing, in the middle of Jambu. In the *Mahábhárata*, it is described as follows:—

"There is a fair and stately mountain, and its name is Meru, a most exalted mass of glory; reflecting the sunny rays from the splendid surface of its gilded horns. It is clothed in gold, and is the respected haunt of Devas (gods) and Gandharbas (celestial singers). It is inconceivable, and not to be encompassed by sinful man; and it is guarded by dreadful serpents. Many celestial medicinal plants adorn its sides; and it stands, piercing the heavens with its aspiring summit,—a mighty hill, inaccessible even by the human mind. It is adorned with trees and pleasant streams, and resoundeth with delightful songs of various birds." Book I. chap. 15. The *Brahmánda Purána*, gives the following description of the same renowned mountain:—"Meru (of gold,) of four colours, is the greatest of mountains; its body appears high in all its dimensions, of many colours all round. Eastward it is white, like the offspring of Brahmá, born from the navel of Vishnu. South, it is yellow, and appears like a Vaisya. West, it is like the dry leaves of a tree, and like a Sudra looks Meru of many names. North, it is red, like the dawning morn, and looks like a Kshetrya; these are conspicuous from their colours. Brahma, Indra, and all the gods, declare, that this largest of all mountains, is a form, consisting of jewels of numberless colours, the abode of various tribes. On this mountain are the heavens of Vishnu, Shiva, Indra, Agni, Yama, Nairita, Vayu, Kuvera, and other gods."

Such is the general description given of this most wonderful mountain, the great Olympus of the Hindus.

* The names in the Vishnu Purána differ from these. Mályavána and Gandhamádana, as in the text, are on the west and east of Meru; and Nila and Nishadha are the northern and southern ranges. But it has Játhara and Devakúta, Trisringa and Jarudhi, for the other ranges. The Bhágavata again places Trisringa and Makara on the North; Játhara and Devakuta on the East; Kailasa and Karavíra on the South; and Pavana and Paripátra on the West.

But the most striking feature, connected with Sumeru, is the account given of its form and magnitude. The Hindus sometimes represent Mount Meru to be of a conical figure. To establish this opinion, they refer to the fact, that several kings of Hindustan were formerly in the habit of raising mounds of earth in that shape, which they used to venerate as the divine Meru, and gods were called down, by spells, to come and dally upon them. They are called Meru-Sringas, or the peaks of Meru. There are four such mounds, either in, or near Benares; and one, which is more modern and of course the most perfect, is at a place called Sai-natha. This opinion seems however to be unsupported by the Shastras, as far, at least, as we have been able to investigate. The most popular notion, which is supported by several of the Puránas, such as the Márkándeya, the Vishnu, and the Brahmánda Puránas, is, that the shape of the golden Meru is like an *inverted* cone;—a notorious instance of oriental fancy. The height of this mountain is said to be 84,000 yojanas, or 672,000 miles from the surface of the earth, and its depth below is 16,000 yojanas, or 1,28,000 miles. Its diameter or circumference (for in some books, it is said to be the *one*, in some, the *other*,) at the summit is 32,000 yojanas, or 2,56,000 miles, and at its base 16,000 yojanas, or 1,28,000 miles.

Here then we have a mountain, whose diameter at the bottom is 16 times, and at the top 32 times, the diameter of the earth upon which it is said to stand. Again, the mean distance of the moon from the earth, as found by the most accurate calculations, is about 2,40,000 miles. But here is a mountain, whose height, above the surface of the earth, is very nearly 3 times that distance. We are at a loss to know what to say to this. Has any Hindu, or any other man, ever seen this mountain, though it is said to rise much higher than the orb of the moon? Is it possible for a mountain, in height and magnitude several times greater than the earth, to stand on its surface? But this is not all. The Hindu authors, place at the lower extremity of this wonderful mountain, seven infernal regions called Talas, each extending downwards 7,000 yojanas,* or 56,000 miles. Their names according to the Bhágavata, are, Pátala, Talatala, Rasatala, Mohatala, Sutala, Vitala and Atala. In other Puránas, other names are given. All these subterranean regions are said to be parts of Mount Sumeru. Below these, again, and below the water, are placed the Narakas, or Hells,

* The Vishnu Purána gives 10,000 yojanas, or 80,000 miles.

properly so called, in which the wicked suffer various kinds of punishment, according to the crimes committed in their bodies. Where then is to be the end of these erroneous notions? We pause in despair to take notice of other things.

The descriptions of other mountains contained in the sacred writings of the Hindus, like those of Sumeru, abound with geographical errors of the grossest kind. There is no mountain which is less than some thousands of yojanas in height, and all are said to shine with splendid colors, and to be rich with brilliant jewels. Some of them are conceived to be of pure gold, and others to be entire masses of precious stones.

The following is a literal translation of the words of the *Brahmánda Purána*, descriptive of the eight other ranges of mountains said to stand on the central island of Jambu:—

"Himapraya or Himavana, full of snow; Hemakutaka, full of gold; Nishadha, resplendent with gold, like the rising sun; like the Vaidinya (Lapis Lazuli—gem), is the Nila mountain; Sweta, abounding with gold; Sringavan, like the feathers of the peacock; Gandhamádana, full of medicinal plants; and (8) Mályavána, full of sweet odour."

These are truly extraordinary mountains. Here for instance, we have one, looking like the Lapis Lazuli—gem, and another, having the appearance of the feathers of a peacock. Splendid pictures indeed,—but suited only to fables, not to natural science.

These mountains are said to extend from sea to sea; and therefore they are of different lengths, according to the latitudes they are in. They are taken two by two in order, one on the north, and another on the south of Meru. They are all of the same breadth and height. Those, on the east and west of Meru, are exactly equal in their three dimensions. Here then is another instance of artificial regularity being ascribed to the works of nature.

"I have mentioned," says the author of the *Brahmánda Purána*, "the breadth of Jambu, which is 1,00,000 yojanas. Now the breadth of the two middle ranges, Nila and Nishadha, are 10,000 yojanas less. Sweta and Hemacuta, are likewise 10,000 less than the two former; and so are Himavana, and Sringavan: Gandhamádana and Mályavána, are of the same length, breadth and height." All these mountains are said to be 2,000 yojanas bread, and as many high, or about 16,000 miles.

In all this the extravagance of the Shastra writers is so manifest, that the authors of some of the Puránas have tried to evade it, maintaining that the mountains were so formerly,

but that they have since subsided, and that the highest mountain now is not above one yojana in height. This excuse is made by the author of the *Kalika Purána*. With regard to these mountains it is farther to be observed, that they are all said, excepting the ranges on the east and west of Meru, to run parallel, and are all placed on the north of Himapraya, the outermost range towards the south. From the description given of this last mountain, namely, that it is full of snow, and situated on the north of Bharata Varsha, we are led to conclude, that it is none other than the Himalaya mountains, which is also the general opinion of the Hindus. Now do the accounts given in the Shastras hold true of these mountains? Are they 60,000 yojanas in length, and 2,000 yojanas high? But what are we doing? Are we seeking for accuracy in the accounts of the ancient writers of Hindustan? Vain task indeed! It is much, that we have been able to find out even *one* range of mountains corresponding to one of the ranges they treat of.

We shall now proceed to the descriptions of the nine great countries, or divisions, of the central continent; and show, that they contain errors of no less magnitude. In the centre of Jambu Dwípa is the Varsha, or division, called Ilavrita: it is a perfect square, and in its middle stands the golden Meru: to the east is Bhadraswa, and to the west Ketumala, or simply Ketu. Between the three ranges of mountains, lying to the north of Ilavríta, there are two countries, Ramyaka and Hiranmaya (or the country full of gold); and, between the three chains of mountains on the south, lie the divisions called Harivarsha, and Kinnara, or Kimpurush. The extreme northern division, which is situated on the north of the Sringavan mountains is called Kuru; and that lying on the south of Himalaya, or the extreme southern division, is the well known Bharata Varsha. These countries are said to be so enormously large, that the real earth has not space sufficient to contain one of them. They are each supposed to be, as we have before observed, perfectly equal in superficial contents; therefore it is quite sufficient to have the area of one of them, and this we find in the *Brahmánda Purána*, which says, "close to the Gandhamádana, along the banks of Apara Gandika, is the county of Ketumala, 34,000 yojanas in length, and 32,000 broad" which gives 1,088,000,000 square yojanas, or 69,632,000,000 of square miles, for the area of each of the countries, on the island of Jambu. According to the Hindu theory also, the form of Bharata Varsha is that of the segment

of a circle. Now by this division the Hindus universally understand the country of Hindustan; and so it must be,—for that is the only country lying between the Himalaya, and the sea of salt, or Indian Ocean. But the shape of India is not the segment of a circle: and the Hindu sages, in making it so, have committed a gross blunder.

In their descriptions of rivers, like remarkable instances of high colored fictions are met with. Soaring above the level of sublunary affairs, they give us rivers, whose sources are traced to heaven, whose currents pass over the orb of the moon, and whose streams flow with honey and living water.

The principal rivers, that are said to water the plains of Jambu, are four in number. They are declared to be the branches of one original river, the Ganges, called Swarganga, or Mandakini, in the Puránas. Most extraordinary accounts are given of its rise, and its passage to the earth. It is supposed to flow from under the feet of Vishnu at the pole star, and, bathing in its passage the orb of the moon, to pour down upon the summit of Meru, where it divides into four streams, which run towards the four cardinal points. For a more minute description of these wonderful streams, we quote passages from two of the most renowned Puránas. In the *Vayu Purána* the following account is given:—

"The water, or Ogha, coming down from heaven, like a stream of Amrita, upon Meru, encircles it, through seven channels, for the space of 84,000 yojanas, and then divides into four streams, which falling from the immense height of Meru, rest themselves in four lakes, from which they spring over the mountains through the air, just brushing the summits."

"Hear, now," says the author of the *Brahmánda Purána*, "what divine streams issue from the lakes, abundant with Ogha, living water. The water of the ocean, coming from heaven upon Meru, is like Amrita; and from it arises a river, which, through seven channels, encircles Meru, and then divides into four streams, springing over towards the four cardinal points."

Then follows a very minute description of these four streams, of which we merely give an abridgement. The first overflows mount Mandara, and waters the country of Bhadraswa. The southern branch goes to Gandhamádana. Mahadeva received it on his own head, from which, spreading over all his body, its waters become most efficacious. The stream called Mahabhaga (or Chakshu), most propitious, passes through Ketumála. North

from Meru, there falls a branch, called Bhadra, upon Supárswa, the mountain of gold. Each of these four streams is said first to fall into a lake, or encircle a forest, and then to ascend to the top of a mountain!

Besides these chief rivers, there is another, which deserves some attention. This is the river called Jambu, from which the central Dwípa derives its name. The description of this river, though short, is yet perhaps of all the most wonderful. It is said to flow from the mount Sumeru. "From this mountain," say the Hindu Shastras, "issues the Jambu river flowing with honey: in it is found the gold called Jambu-nada, with which the gods are adorned. From it Jambu derives its name."*

What an ocean of blunders is here! A river, flowing from the feet of a god, and, breaking through the concave of the heavens, issues from the pole star;—a point too high and heavenly for our humble capacities. This river, in its way downwards, meets the moon, and pours its waters over that luminary!—a description probably written under the influence of her rays.

Before we take leave of this subject, we think it worth our while to take some brief notice of the sacred stream of the Ganges, as being undoubtedly the most renowned and sanctified of all the rivers spoken of in the Shastras. Bhagíratha, when conducting her from Hurdwar, is said to have traced with the wheels of his chariot two furrows, which were to be the limits of her encroachments. The distance between them is by some supposed to have been four *kos*, by others, four yojanas; and it is said, in spite of eye demonstration, that she has never been known to overflow on either side. She falls into the ocean according to some, through seven channels; according to others, through a hundred mouths. But the most extraordinary circumstance, connected with the accounts given of this river, is the description of its course, through the various parts of the universe; which is as follows:—"The Ganges flows through the Gandharbas, Kinnaras, Yakshas, Rákshasas, Vedyadaias? Nagas (or large snakes), Kalápagramakas, Páradas, Swiganas,

* The account in the Vishnu Purána is somewhat different. The Jambu Dwípa derives its appellation, according to it, from a Jambu tree, extending over 1,100 yojanas. Its apples are as large as elephants; and, falling, when rotten, on the crest of the mountain, their juice oozing out forms the Jambu river. The waters of this stream have such healing virtue, that all, who drink of it, pass their days in content and health, being subject, neither to perspiration, foul odours, decrepitude, nor organic decay. The soil, absorbing the Jambu juice, and dried by the wind, becomes the gold, named Jambu-nada.

Swasis, Kiratas, Pulíndas, Kurus, Pánchálas, Kásis, Matsyas, Magadhas, Angas, Bangas, Kalingas, Tamaliptas."

Observe the wild grandeur of the description! A river, far different from our common streams, runs, not merely through countries, provinces, and districts, inhabited by a low and insignificant race of creatures, called men, but passing through higher regions, occupied, either by the most glorious, or by the most dreadful beings of creation,—by races, of heavenly musicians and songsters, of giants and demons, of the most beautiful beings in nature, of mighty serpents, and through tribes and countries, known and unknown, which few now-a-days have ever seen or heard of.

We shall next briefly notice the islands, that are said to be scattered in various parts of the seven great seas, or oceans. Besides the seven great insular continents, which are called Maha-Dwípas, there are several other smaller islands, which, to distinguish them from the former, are called Upadwípas, or inferior islands. We shall notice only two things, concerning these,—their number and their origin. They are said to be exactly 1,000 in number;—a wonderful example of the minute accuracy of the Hindu geographers.

These islands, according to the Hindu Shastras, did not exist from the beginning of the world, but were subsequently formed by the operation of supernatural agency. What this agency was, we of course long to know. Was it by the action of volcanic force that these islands were raised up? Or, were they formed in the same way, by which the sand-banks rise? No; these are ways too commonplace to win favour from the Hindu sages. They must have something far more marvellous. Accordingly they proceed in the following manner:—In the first age of the world, King Sagar, who had sixty thousand children born in a pumpkin, celebrated the great sacrifice of the horse. The horse, which he had brought for this great object, when travelling unrestrained through the various parts of the world, was missing. No one could tell where he was gone, or by whom he was taken away. The sixty thousand sons of the king, being very sorry for the loss of the horse, without which all the preparations would go for nothing, began to explore every corner and creek of the world, with the hope of finding out the animal at all hazards. But, their efforts proving fruitless, they began to suspect, that the horse might have gone down into the infernal regions. Hence, with the view of opening a passage down to those dismal places, they be-

gan to work in the bottom of the sea;—digging up the earth, and throwing it into heaps, which in time became islands. Such is the account given of the formation of the islands. If the question be asked, How could the sons of Sagar dig in the bottom of the ocean without being drowned? the Hindu writers give the following reply;—At the time, when the islands were dug up by the numerous progeny of the king, from whom the sea derives its name, the bed of the ocean was dry, Agastya having previously swallowed its waters at one sip. If indeed it be possible for a human being to have sixty thousand children, and for men to raise 1,000 islands by manual labor, what is there to prevent a Rishi from drinking up the waters of the universal ocean, and thereby making its bottom dry?

The account given of the formation of lakes is equally extravagant. We shall give only one example as a specimen. The lake called Mansaravara, the same as Mánasa, one of the four principal lakes mentioned in the Shastras, is declared to have been formed by drops of water falling from the hairs of Mahadeva, when he received the holy stream of the Ganges from heaven on his head. Hence this lake is also known by the more significant name of Vindusáravara.

Besides the principal countries, mountains, rivers, and lakes, of which we have already spoken, the Hindu geographers give us accounts of other inferior countries, mountains, valleys, and rivers, whose number and extent exceed all belief. The *Brahmánda*, *Vayu*, and *Brahmá Puránas* are most copious on these subjects. In each of the divisions of Jambu, hundreds and hundreds of countries, mountains, rivers, &c. are said to exist, the bare names of which would fill up more space than we can allow. With respect to the descriptions given of these imaginary places, they are stamped by the same puerile extravagance of thought, which characterizes the Hindu writings in general.

The Hindu Shastras furnish us with yet another very striking theory of the earth. The notices, which we possess respecting it, are chiefly extracted from the *Bhágavata*, *Brahmánda*, and *Brahmá Puránas*. It represents the earth, under the emblematical representation of a padma (lotus), floating on the ocean. The following passage of the *Brahmánda Purána* will serve as an authority:—

"The great God, the great omnipotent, omniscient, one, the greatest in the world, the great Lord, who goes through all the

worlds, is born a moulded body of flesh and bones, made, whilst himself was not made. His wisdom and power pervade all hearts; from his heart sprung this padma (lotus) like world in times of old. When this flower was produced by Vishnu, then from his navel sprung the worldly lotus, abounding in trees and plants."

The germ of this amazing lotus is Sumeru; and the mountains, with which Meru is surrounded, are as its petals and filaments. The four leaves of the calyx are the four vast Dwípas or countries, towards the four cardinal points. In the intermediate spaces, are eight external leaves placed two by two; these are the eight subordinate Dwípas. The names and positions of the four great countries, or Múha-Dwípas are as follows:—To the north is Uttara Kuru; to the south is Jambu; Bhádráswa is to the east, and Ketumála to the west. In the intervals, lying between every two of the principal countries, are the following inferior islands: Swarná prastha, Chandra sucla, Avarttana, Ramanaka, Mandahára, Lanká, Sinhalá, and Sánkha.

Who would not be struck with the ingenuity of the Hindu theorists? They have accurately finished their task. The comparison between the earth and a lotus is perfect and complete. To every part of the flower, a counterpart is found in the world. Proof or evidence has nothing to do with the matter. Similies, allegories, illustrations, are taken for proofs. This is the universal tendency of the genuine native mind.

Meru, and its surrounding mountains, which form the most prominent objects of the system of geography we are now considering, are thus described in the Brahmánda Purána:—

"In the middle, Meru is hollow like the germ of the lotus. Its breadth is above 32,000 yojanas: its circumference twice that added to it. The circumference of the germ, Karnika, is 90,000 yojanas; the internal circumference is 84,000: the stamina, and filaments, extend lengthwise to the number of 100,000; and their circumference is 300,000 yojanas. The four petals are 80,000 yojanas long, and as many broad. I am now going to describe this great and wonderful Karnika, the germ or pericarp.

"It consists of 100,000 angles. Bhrigu says 3,000; Sávarni, 8,060; Varsháyani, 1,000. Bhagari says, it is square; Galava, that it is hollow; Gramya (?) that it is like an egg, with the broad end below; Garga, like three twisted locks of hair; whilst others will have it to be spherical. Every Rishi represents

this lord of mountains, as it appeared to him from his station. Brahma, Indra, and all the gods declare, that this largest of all mountains, is like gold, like the dawning morn, resplendent with 1,000 petals, like 1,000 water-pots, with 1,000 leaves.

"Within, it is adorned with the self-moving cars of the gods, all beautiful. In its petals are the abodes of the gods, like heaven; in its 1,000 petals, they dwell with their consorts. Above, is Brahma, with 1,000 gods; in the east, Indra; between the east and south is Agni, &c., with their respective Loks and Rishis.

"Such is the pericarp, above the surface of the earth. Its circumference at the surface of the earth is 48,000 yojanas."

This description presents a striking instance of Hindu authors positively contradicting one another. The Rishis, Bhrigu, Savárni, Varshâyani, all differ from one another, respecting the number of angles which the pericarp contains; while Bhaguri, Gálava, and Garga give us equally conflicting accounts of its shape.

We annex a Map of this renowed Meru, drawn by the pandits themselves. It professes to be founded on the description of the mountain, contained in the *Srimat Bhágavata*. We received it from a native gentleman, to whom it was presented by a pandit. The map appears to be as wonderful, as the mountain which it represents. Beginning from its bottom, the spaces or rooms marked E, are the seven Talas below the mountain; and t' is the place for the spirits of the dead. G is the gate of virtue, g of heaven, and g' of hell. The column, exactly in the middle, contains the heavens of the gods and of god-like beings. In the columns, to the right and left of this, are the habitations of various tribes of celestial or aerial beings, either good, or wicked. The rooms, on the left of the map, marked H are the heavens, in which the fruits of good actions are enjoyed. The names of these good deeds, of various sorts, will be found generally in their respective heavens. The rooms on the right, marked H' are hells, in which the wicked suffer various kinds of punishments, according to the nature of their guilt. The names of different sorts of vices also will be found in each hell. There is some ingenuity in the arrangements of the heavens and hells with their corresponding good or bad actions, as can be easily perceived by inspecting the map. The names of the heavens and hells, it should be remarked, are so significant, that they at once indicate the nature of the happiness, or pain, to be enjoyed, or suffered, in them. Besides these general features, there are several other

particulars which deserve notice, but for these we simply refer to the map itself.*

* We subjoin a complete list of the heavens, hells, &c. Their arrangement will be easily understood by referring to the numbers in the map. In the popular system the hells lie *under* the Talas.

1. Golaka.
2. The power of ignorance.
3. True Light.
4. Vaikun*tha*.
5. Sri Parbramha Náráyana.
6. The quality of goodness.
7. Vishnuloka.
8. Mahatatwa.
9. The five Airs.
10. The five Natures.
11. The five Senses.
12. The five principles of life.
13. Panchatatwa.
14. The region of Goodness.
15. The region of devotees.
16. Janaloka.
17. Maharloka.
18. Swarloka.
19. Bhuvarloka.
20. Bhurloka.
21. The Gate of Virtue.
22. The region of the dead.
23. Pátála.
24. Talátala.
25. Ra'tátala.
26. Mahátala.
27. Sutala.
28. Vitala.
29. Atala.
30. The quality of passion.
31. Bramhá.
32. Dhruvaloka.
33. Bishákha Mandala.
34. The region of the Sun.
35. The region of Mars.
36. The region of Jupiter.
37. The region of Saturn.
38. Ketuloka.
39. Yakshaloka.
40. Gandharbaloka.
41. Kinnaraloka.
42. Kuveraloka.
43. Varunaloka.
44. Indraloka.
45. The Gate of Heaven.
46. The heaven of goodness.
47. The heaven of Indra.
48. A gift of a kingdom.
49. Sankhyaswarga.
50. A gift of gold.
51. The heaven of joyfulness.
52. A gift of a daughter.
53. Vaikun*tha* Swarga.
54. A gift of life.
55. Nishkama Swarga.
56. Nibandha Swarga.
57. A gift of an Umbrella.
58. Sádhusebá.
59. Faith.
60. Deva Swarga.
61. A gift of a cow.
62. Mukti Swarga.
63. A gift of an elephant.
64. Brahma Swarga.
65. A gift of the earth.
66. The heaven of desire.
67. A gift of cotton.
68. Teja Swarga.
69. The heaven of Shiva.
70. A gift of learning.
71. Guru's Service.
72. The seven heavens.
73. A gift of boiled rice.
74. The heaven of enjoyment.
75. A gift of boiled rice.
76. The heaven of happiness.
77. Mantradána.
78. Apsará Swarga.
79. A gift of jewels.
80. Ashoka Swarga.
81. Káma Swarga.
82. Bachana Dána.
83. Hari's Service.
84. Máyá Swarga.
85. A gift of fruits.
86. Chitta Swarga.
87. Brata dana.
88. Varuna Swarga.
89. A gift of Virtue.
90. The heaven of Hari.
91. Puja dána.
92. Yaksha Swarga.
93. A gift of Amrita.
94. The Heaven of virtue.
95. A gift of flowers.
96. Yoga Swarga.
97. A gift of a chariot.
98. The heaven of Brahmá.
99. A gift of clothes.
100. Kuvera Swarga.
101. A gift of a Palanqueen.
102. Tapo Swarga.
103. A gift of water.
104. The quality of darkness.
105. The region of Shiva.
106. The seven Saints.
107. The circle of Amrádhá.
108. The region of the moon.
109. The region of Mercury.
110. The region of Venus.
111. Apsaraloka.
112. Ráhuloka.
113. Pisáchaloka.
114. Pretaloka.
115. Bhútaloka.
116. Chitrapuptaloka.
117. Dharmaloka.
118. The region of Yoma.
119. The gate of Hell.
120. Keeping of bad Company.
121. Reproaching the Vedas.
122. Vaimohana Naraka.
123. Speaking against Sacred places.
124. Tamishra Naraka.
125. Speaking ill of devotion.
126. Adhatámishra Naraka.
127. Reproaching one's father.
128. Maháraurava Naraka.
129. Reviling the Saints.
130. Sukaramukha Naraka.
131. Reviling Hari.
132. Suchimukhá Naraka.
133. Absorption.
134. Reviling Yajna.
135. Vishwabhojana Naraka.
136. Reviling the gods.
137. Paujapat Naraka.
138. Reviling acts of charity.
139 Abatani Naraka.
140. Reviling faith.
141. Trishnabarta Naraka.
142. Reviling Munis.
143. Raurava Naraka.
144. Paranindá.
145. Kumbhipáka Naraka.
146. Reviling religion.
147. Shálapreta Naraka.
148. Reviling act of merits.
149. Tamradhara Naraka.
150. Reviling Yoga.
151. Chhuridhára Naraka.
152. Reviling Brahmá.
153. Chhurádhára Naraka.
154. Reviling Shiva.
155. Kálasutra Naraka.
156. Reviling virtuous men.
157. Maharaurava Naraka.
158. Reviling Vishnu.
159. Taptabaitarani.
160. Reviling the wise.
161. Vishá Naraka.
162. Reviling the king.
163. Bhutadraha Naraka.
164. Reviling men.
165. The hell of hot ground.
166. Reviling Brahmanas.
167. Dantasáka Naraka.
168. Reviling works of merit.
169. Sánmali Naraka.
170. Reviling the heavens.
171. Adhomukha Naraka.
172. Reviling the fruits of good works.
173. The hell of worms.
174. Reviling caste.
175. Samasa Naraka.
176. Máya Nindá.
177. The hell of fire.

This list contains several repetitions, and differs from the fuller list of the Vishnu Purána. We give it as a curious illustration of living popular superstition.

Before we bring the subject of Hindu geography to a close, we think it desirable, to take a cursory view of India, or Bhárata Varsha, of which the Puránas give a most splendid and minute, but by no means very correct, description. The first error, which the Hindu geographers commit on this subject, respects the form of India, which is, as we have previously seen, said to be that of the segment of a circle. The second is still more gross: for the Vishnu Purána makes it 9,000 yojanas—or 72,000 miles, from North to South.

The main divisions of Bhárata Varsha, are nine in number, viz. Indra Dwípa, Kaserumat, Támravarna, Várána, Gabhastímat, Kumárika, Naga, Saumya, and Chandra Dwípa. The first and the last of these divisions are, in general, called Gandharba Khanda, being supposed to be the abode of gods, with their usual retinue of heavenly musicians. Through the seven remaining divisions, seven rivers are said to flow. They have a common source in the lake, from which issues the Ganges. To the east flow Naliní, Pavaní, and Hládiní; to the west, Sitá, Chakshú and Sindhu; and in the middle is the Bhagirathí. So says the Váyu Purána: but the others differ widely.

Besides these principal divisions of India, there are recorded a great number of smaller sub-divisions, of which we mean to give the number only, not the names, which are too tedious to be mentioned. With regard to these minor sections of Bhárata Khanda, it is to be observed, that they afford a remarkable instance of what we have repeatedly remarked, that the Hindu Shastras abound with names of places, which are nowhere to be found. The following list will exhibit the truth of this assertion:—

	Divisions.	*How many can be found.*
In the centre of India	38	4
East	17	2
South-east	21	2
South	35	5
South-west	24	0
West	19	1
North-east	13	0
North	38	0
North-west	23	0
Total	228	14

Of the two hundred and twenty-eight divisions of India, which we read of in the *Márkándeya Purána*, we could find only fourteen (a very insignificant minority indeed) to correspond with real places in the country; the rest have names and names only.

Here we close our researches into the geography of the Hindus. Enough has been said, we hope, to show the grossness of their errors on the subject. We have dwelt rather too long upon it; but we have done so for the purpose of pointing out the different *kinds* of errors, into which the Hindu authors have fallen—as well as to show the peculiar features and tendencies of their character and genius. The remarks, which we have made, will be found to apply equally to other sciences known among the Hindus, on which therefore we shall try to be as brief as possible.

We next proceed to point out the errors of the Hindu *astronomy*. With regard to this most important branch of knowledge, a distinction should be made between their Puranic and scientific systems of astronomy. The scientific treatises of astronomy, called the Siddhantas, are so little known among the Hindus, that they can scarcely be regarded to form any part of the popular belief. To that system of astronomy then, which is founded on the Puránas, as to that which alone is popularly believed, we direct our attention. How much Hinduism is in danger, from the diffusion of such astronomical knowledge, will be best understood from the following specimens.

We find the arrangement of the *solar* and *stellar systems*, thus described in the Vishnu, Padma, Kúrma, and Váyu, Puránas. The firmament, or the sphere of the sky, called Bhuvar-loka, is said to be of the same extent, both in diameter and circumference, with the sphere of the earth, or Bhúr-loka, which extends, with its oceans, mountains and rivers, as far as it is illuminated by the rays of the sun and moon. The Earth is supposed to be the centre of the system; around which revolve, in regular succession, the Sun, the Moon, the lunar constellations, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the orbit of Ursa Major, and the Pole star. The History of Astronomy furnishes us with several erroneous systems, formed since the infancy of that science: but where can we find a system so absurd and extravagant, as that framed by the inspired sages of Hindustan? Here the sun is placed nearest to the earth, and the moon is supposed to be higher than the sun! Of the constellations, some are placed lower than the orbit of Mercury; one is placed beyond the orbit of Saturn; and another at the farthest distance of all; while all these heavenly bodies are supposed to move round the earth, which is fixed in the centre!

With like absurdity, the solar orb is placed 100,000 yojanas, or 800,000 miles, from the earth: the space between them is

the residence of the Siddhas, a race of demi-gods. The distance from the sun to the moon is equal to that of the sun from the earth, or 800,000 miles. At the same interval above the moon occurs the orbit of all the lunar mansions. Two hundred thousand yojanas, or 1,600,000 miles, above the lunar constellations, is the planet Budha (Mercury). Sukra (Venus) is at the same distance from Mercury, and Mangala or Angáraka (Mars) is as far above Venus. At the same distance, still ascending, is Vrihaspati (Jupiter), the priest of the gods; while Sani (Saturn) is as far from Jupiter according to some, but according to others, 250,000 yojanas from the same planet. Ursa Major,(the sphere of the seven Rishis or canonized saints,) is 100,000 yojanas above Saturn; and, at a similar height above the seven Rishis, is Dhruva, the pole star.

The Hindu sages surely, while spinning out such theories of the heavens, never could have dreamed of the arrival of these wicked times, when men no longer make imagination the source of all science, but depend solely on actual observation and measurement,—or else they would never have run the risk of exposing themselves so egregiously.

But we are carried still higher in the Vishnu Purána. At the distance of 10,000,000 yojanas above Dhruva, lies the sphere of the saints, or Mahar-loka, the inhabitants of which dwell in it throughout a Kalpa, or day of Brahma. At twice that distance is situated Jana-loka, where the pure-minded sons of Brahmá reside. Rising still higher, at four times the distance between the two last, lies the Tapo-loka, (the sphere of penance), inhabited by the deities called Vaibhrájas, who are unconsumable by fire; and at six times the distance, or twelve crores, (120,000,000 yojanas,) is situated the Satya-loka, the sphere of truth, the inhabitants of which never again know death.

Thus the Hindu astronomers deeming it too great humiliation on their part to treat only of known heavenly bodies, have attempted very successfully to preserve their dignity by the invention of certain heavenly spheres, which no instrument, to whatever perfection it may be brought, can ever disclose.

The origin of the *planets*, according to the Puranic system, was as follows:

In the first part (quarter) of the Treta Yuga, the daughters of Daksha were born, of whom he gave twenty-seven to the moon; who became the twenty seven lunar Asterisms. From this union the Hindu Astronomers have feigned the birth of four of the planets. Mercury is born of Rohiní; hence he is called Rohineya after his mother. Maghá brought forth the

beautiful planet Venus, otherwise called Maghaba. Ashádhá brought forth Mars, hence called Ashádhá-baba; and Jupiter, being born of Purvaphalguni, was called Purvaphalguni-baba. Saturn is supposed to have originated from the shadow of the earth, at the time of the churning of the ocean, or the war between the gods and the giants. To the same period is assigned the birth of the Moon, the account of which is too interesting to be omitted. "When they (the gods) heard the words of Náráyana, they all returned again to the work, and began to stir about with great force that butter of the ocean; when presently, there arose from out of the troubled deep, first the moon, with a pleasing countenance, shining with ten thousand beams of gentle light. The moon, as swift as thought, instantly marched away towards the Devas, keeping in the path of the sun."

It should always be remembered, that of the fact, that these planets are bodies composed of matter, and immensely large, they seem to have been quite ignorant: for no where in their writings do we find the least indication of such a supposition. They describe the planets as living beings, of a superior order to man, and sometimes rank them with the Gods. At the same time they speak of them as orbs, each with its respective inhabitants;—a mass of obscurity, which cannot be pierced through. We sought for the assistance of many pandits to make the matter plainer to us, but all of them signally failed.

The *Sun*, in this system, is supposed to ride through the heavens, on a most glorious car, drawn by seven white horses. The rays of light proceed neither from the chariot, nor from the body of the sun, but from a most brilliant *mandala*,* or seat, that is placed within the car. This mandala, the seat of the sun, is circular; hence does he appear round to the sight of men. The sun is said to move round Meru, by which the alternate succession of day and night happens to the inhabitants of the terraqueous globe. His orbit is bounded by the Loká-loka mountains, which is the utmost limit of his declination, and beyond which he cannot pass. The purest rays of the sun, or more properly of its mandala, are not always emitted to terrestrial beings; since they sometimes pass through the medium of the body of Aruna, the charioteer, who is fabled to sit in the front of the car, wherein the father of Dharma, the Sun, is seated in his majestic grandeur.

We cannot pass over this description of the Sun without one or two observations. The sun, which is a vast material

* A mandala is properly a diurnal revolution of the sun, or one degree nearly.

world, 13,80,000 times larger than our earth, is reduced to an insignificant car, with an imaginary being placed within it. The world-enlightening rays of the sun, which proceed from the luminous clouds by which it is surrounded, are attributed to a small shining plate, believed to be the seat of the regent of that luminary,—to which again a progressive motion is assigned, while, in truth, it is stationary. The Vedas are perhaps the best authority for Hindu Astronomy. In them the sun is supposed to be born of fire, into which he *literally* enters, when setting, and from which he is actually re-produced every morning!

The description of the *moon* is, in many particulars, substantially the same, as that given of the sun. The moon* is supposed to move round Meru on a splendid chariot, and his light emanates from a brilliant seat placed within his car. But there is one thing peculiar to the lunar orb. At the total wane of the moon, the Puránas describe him to be exactly above the sun, in a perpendicular line with that luminary, by which his light is prevented from descending to the earth. The different *phases* of the moon are attributed to a cause still more marvellous. This beautiful planet, on account of doing some wrong, was cursed by his father-in-law, which extremely grieved him. By the interposition of his wives, however, his father-in-law was disposed to withdraw his anathema; but as the word of such a great person can never be recalled, he mitigated the sentence, and addressed the moon in the following words: "Thou shalt not die, but shalt alternately increase and decrease in perpetual rotation." From that time, the moon can never be full, but once in a month; and he must once be apparently dead in the same time, as a punishment for offending a superior. The Vedas again declare that "the moon is born of the sun." They add, that "The moon at the conjunction disappears within the sun;" on which the commentator makes the following remark:—"The moon disappears within the sun at the conjunction; but is re-produced from the sun on the first day of each bright fortnight." Thus the Puránas place the moon at the conjunction directly above the sun, while the Vedas make him enter its orb.

The *fixed stars* are styled, in the Hindu Shastras, Nakshatraloka, that is, a race of celestial beings, who are supposed to come down, and be born again in human frames, after a fixed period of their airy residence. A fuller description of these luminaries will be given hereafter. The milky way, or galaxy,

* The moon is supposed in the Hindu Shastras to be of the male sex.

is termed a river, one of the *tridharas* of the Gunga, when she passes through heaven.

We have reserved, for the last, the theory of the Hindus respecting the *Eclipses* of the sun and moon. The writers of the Puránas affirm, that a monster, or rather the severed head of a giant called *Ráhu*, now and then attempts to grasp the sun and moon in their orbits, on account of an old enmity that subsisted between them. This giant approaches, and threatens to devour them. He does not indeed venture to touch them, yet his enormous head intercepts their rays, and thereby produces that extraordinary phenomenon called an eclipse. The enmity between *Ráhu* on the one hand, and the sun and moon on the other, arose out of a singular event. It is thus described in the *Mahábhárata*, in the famous story of the churning of the ocean: "And it so fell out, that whilst the Suras were quenching their thirst for immortality, *Ráhu*, an Asura, assumed the form of a Sura, and began to drink also. The water had but reached his throat, when the sun and moon, in friendship to the Suras, discovered the deceit; and instantly Náráyana cut off his head, as he was drinking, with his splendid weapon chakra. And the gigantic head of the Asura, emblem of a mountain's summit, being thus separated from his body by the chakra's edge, bounded into the heavens with a dreadful cry; whilst his ponderous trunk fell, cleaving the ground asunder, and shaking the whole earth to its foundation, with all its islands, rocks, and forests. And from that time the head of *Ráhu* resolved on eternal enmity, and continueth even unto this day, to strive at times to seize upon the sun and moon."

Let us turn now to the *Physical Geography* of the Hindus. Nothing can be more ridiculous for a man, than to pretend to know every thing, while in truth he knows nothing: yet such has been the case with the Philosophers of Hindustan. For instance, they notice several phenomena, which form the subjects of physical geography, and attempt to explain them; but their explanations are as far from the truth, as the north Pole is from the south. A few examples will be sufficient to shew the extravagant and erroneous mode, in which they account for some of the most familiar natural appearances.

Nothing perhaps is better calculated to shew the wildness of fancy, in which they were accustomed to indulge, than the explanation which they give of the *tides* of the ocean. "The tides," say they, "began to flow and ebb at the time, when the great ocean was churned by the united bands of the Gods and Asuras. Previous to this time, the ocean had been as tranquil

as the surface of a lake, in the stillness and serenity of a mild summer evening. Now the Suras, being desirous to drink the water of immortality, applied to Náráyana, who directed them to churn the great ocean, in the following words:—"Let the ocean, as a pot of milk, be churned by the united labour of the Suras, and Asuras; and, when the mighty waters have been stirred up, the Amrita shall be found." The mighty mountain Mandara, which standeth eleven thousand yojanas above the earth, and eleven thousand more below its surface, was to serve for the churning stick; the lord of serpents, Ananta, was to be the rope; and Indra, the king of the Gods, was to churn the ocean. But Indra, finding the mountain too heavy, said unto Kúrma Raja, the King of the Tortoises, upon the strand of the ocean: "My Lord is able to be the supporter of this mountain." The tortoise replied "Be it so;" and it was placed upon his back. So the mountain being set upon the back of the tortoise, the operation of churning the ocean was regularly begun. Now Kúrma Deva, being fatigued with the enormous weight of the mountain which whirled on his back, began to breathe fast; and the force of his breath was such, that at each expiration, the waters of the ocean rushed forward, and at each inspiration they rolled backwards; and in this manner, the tides began to flow and ebb in the ocean." The Pandit, from whom we received this information, being asked, Whether the tortoise still continues, to breathe, as the tides always rise and fall in regular succession? replied, No; but the waters of the ocean at that time received such an impetus, that they still continue to do so; though the impulse, originally imparted to them by the breath of the tortoise, has long since ceased.

The cause stated in the Shastras for the rising and ebbing of the waters of the Ganges is quite in keeping with the foregoing account. The Ganges, it is said, advancing towards the ocean, becomes frightened, and flies back, through one hundred channels; and this exercise she continues, twice every day. It happens at a place, called Purana Sagara.

The phenomena of *rain* are still more surprising. It is the unanimous voice of all the Shastras, that rain descends from the moon. On this subject, we can produce passages from the highest of the Hindu Shastras, the Vedas. For instance, it is said in the Rig Veda, and that in a manner the most explicit, that "rain is produced from the moon." In some other portions of the Hindu Shastras, the moon is described as the great Adhára, or repository of water. But this is not all. Not only is rain believed to fall from the moon, but, after falling on the ground, it is said to return or re-ascend

to the same luminary. To support this curious opinion the Rig Veda thus states: "Rain having fallen, evaporates, and disappears within the moon." On which the commentator makes the following remark: "Rain enters the lunar orb, which consists of water, and, at a subsequent time, it is re-produced from the moon." The Puránas, which are more modern, supply an intermediate step. They say, that from the surface of the earth the waters rise first by the attraction of the sun, from which they are next drawn up to the moon. Thus curiously enough the moon, which is found by modern research to be probably without any water, is described by the sages of Hindustan, as an orb full of that liquid.

Still more absurd is the account given of the mode in which rain is said to descend upon the earth. The Puránas maintain, that the clouds ascend one-third the height of Sumeru, or 200,000 miles high, and that they are full of small pores resembling sieves. Eight great elephants, called Dighastis, are said to sprinkle water on the clouds, which fall in drops through their numerous pores.* So erroneous then are the notions, entertained by the Hindus, on subjects which the mere use of their faculty of vision might have enabled them to understand. But their minds can never be satisfied with plain and simple facts. To say, 'we see the rain fall from the clouds,' is an assertion devoid of all attraction. So simple a statement could never captivate the native mind.

The most popular notion respecting *the seven-colored bow*, is, that it is a reflection of the great *Gandiva* of Rama, whence the name Rama Dhanika is derived. But, in the Puránas it is described as the bow of Indra, brought out, now and then we suppose, to keep it clean from rust. The Pandits of the present day seem to be ashamed of such opinions, since many of them are found to give the English explanation of this phenomenon, under a Hindu disguise. We ourselves met with a pandit of this sensible, but dishonest, class, who, to our great astonishment, said, that the rainbow was occasioned by Jalaknana, or the reflection of the rays of the sun from the drops of rain.

The flashes of *lightning* are believed to be emanations of light from the brilliant person of a celestial nymph; who is fond of coming out to sport on the clouds at the time of rain. With respect to lightning, the Hindu sages give us the old story of the thunderbolts of Indra, the Indian Jupiter.

The *height of the atmosphere* is said to be indefinite, or, in

* This is rather the Puranic theory of *dew*. Rain is otherwise accounted for.

other words, it is believed to be as high as the firmament, by which the Hindus understand a fixed sphere, which, in common language, is the blue-colored sky. See how many errors crowd into a single statement of the Shastras! The atmosphere, of which the mean height is only 45 miles above the surface of the earth, is believed to reach the regions of the fixed stars; the firmament, which is a mere apparent sphere, is supposed to be substantial and fixed; and the vulgar notion of the *blue* colour of the skies is entirely preserved. The motion in the atmosphere, or *wind*, is declared to be produced by the virtue of a certain inherent and occult quality which it possesses, and which imparts to it the tendency of always blowing in all directions. What a want of common observation is indicated here? Yet the Hindu writers would never confess their ignorance, but must give some reason for every phenomenon; so by pretending to be learned, they incur the additional charge of being dishonest and stupid.

For the phenomena of *earthquakes*, the Hindus give a reason quite consistent with their theory of the supporters of the earth. When Vásuki, the thousand-headed serpent, say they, or any of the Dighastis, become weary of bearing the enormous load of the earth, they change their position, by means of which is produced that extraordinary phenomenon, called an earthquake.

The theory of *the falling stars* is pretty and poetical. These meteors are believed to be the same as the fixed stars, which are again supposed by some to be a race of celestial beings, called Nakshastra Loka; but by others they are conceived to be the spirits of the dead. These, when the term of their enjoying heaven is elapsed, descend to the world to take new births. In their way downwards they are known by the name of the falling stars. Those, which fall in the evening, are believed to live but for a short time in this world after their birth; those, which fall in the advanced parts of the night, are supposed to live long. Again, those, which appear comparatively dim, are said to be the spirits of the wicked; and those, which are brilliant, are the souls of virtuous men.

The *halos* of the sun and the moon are said to be occasioned by the assemblies of Gods, held in their regions, for the purpose of consulting on affairs, relating to the government of the world; and the profusion or scarcity of rain is believed to be the respective consequences of these circles round the sun and the moon.

Burning fountains are held peculiarly sacred by the Hindus, and are believed to be the favorite haunts of some of their

chief gods. The flames, that proceed from these curious fountains, are taken for visible demonstrations of a divine presence. Fire, they say, is the mouth of the gods, and therefore the issuing of fire from below the water is a sure indication of the gods protruding their tongues for food. Hence the Hindus are seen to throw plaintains and other victuals into these fountains to satisfy the hunger of their gods.

The science of *chemistry* has always existed among the Hindus in a state extremely low and imperfect. Indeed in their hands it can never be said to have passed its infancy. The theory of the elements, and of their successive generation, is perhaps the only point in the chemistry of the Hindus, which deserves attention.

The great Hindu chemical theory is in substance the same with that of the ancient philosophers of Greece and Rome. It inculcates the doctrine of *five* primary elements, namely, ether or vacuum, air, fire, water, and earth, of which all objects, visible or invisible, are said to be made. Nothing can be more erroneous, as the modern discoveries in this science show, than the foregoing theory of simple substances; yet the Hindu philosophers pretend to account by it for all the phenomena of the material world. A single instance will be sufficient to show the arbitrary style, in which the Hindus decide without enquiry. The human body is one of their favorite illustrations. The flesh and bones, they say, are composed of *earth*, and they will return to their kindred element after death. Hunger or appetite is the internal *fire*, by which food is consumed. *Water* is visibly seen in the watery secretions. The breath is the action of *air*, and the several cavities in the body, both external and internal, are *vacant* spaces. In a similar way they give us the analysis of all compound substances. Metals, stones, and, in short, all minerals and solid substances, are said to be formed of earth as their base, with a smaller proportion of each of the other four elements. All liquid, aeriform, and igneous substances, have, water, air and fire, for their respective bases. In this way all substances in nature, known or unknown, are exhausted. Thus fire, air, earth, and water, each of which is a compound substance, are made first elements; and metals, which are all simple bodies, are believed to be compounded of several substances,—while *all* bodies are reduced to five primary elements, into which they are not at all resolvable. The number of metals, according to some authorities, is eight only; but, according to others, a full hundred,—a remarkable instance of contradiction and error, both in one place. The most striking feature in the chemical system of the Hindus, how-

ever, is the mode in which the elements are said to be generated. Of the five elementary bodies, ether, air, fire, water and earth, each subsequent one is said to be produced in order from that which immediately precedes it. For example, from ether came air, from air fire, from fire water, and from water earth.

On this subject, we quote the institutes of Manu, as translated by Sir William Jones, and the Vedas. Thus says Manu. At the close of the first night of Brahma, "intellect, called into action by his will to create worlds, performed again the work of creation; and thence first emerges the subtle ether, to which philosophers ascribe the quality of conveying sound." A sounder philosophy has established, that air is the great agent in the conveyance of sound. The Hindus, however, ignorant of this important fact, were obliged to fabricate an imaginary vehicle of sound, of the existence of which they had no proof. But if by ether they mean vacuum, they still go farther from the truth, for no sound can pass through a vacuum.

Equally fantastic is the opinion, which the Hindus entertain of the origin and quality of air. "From ether, effecting a transmutation in form, springs the pure air, a vehicle of all scents; and air held to be endued with the quality of touch." On this obscure passage, we quote the opinion of a learned author. "The word touch, here, is ambiguous; it may mean either, that air is tangible, or that it has the faculty, the sense of touch." The latter, we suspect, is the meaning of the original; for we can hardly credit, that so great a master of language, as Sir Wm. Jones, would have explained a passage, which only meant that air is tangible, by so exceptionable a term, as that it is endued with the quality of touch. We can with less difficulty suppose, from other instances, that he endeavoured to cloak a most absurd idea, under an equivocal translation.

The following passage gives an account of light and heat. "Then from air, operating a change, rises light or fire, making objects visible, spreading bright rays; and it is declared to have the quality of figure." The Vedas add the proof of this extraordinary assertion. "Fire is born of air, for, urged with force by breath, it increases." It clearly appears from these several passages, that the explanations, which proved satisfactory to the Hindu mind, are merely such random guesses, as would occur to the most ignorant, uncultivated, and uninformed minds.

What is meant by the Hindu writers, when they affirm, that

fire, or light, has the quality of figure, we possess not sufficient genius to understand. Indeed it seems impossible to attach any sense to it. Did they mean to express, that fire, or light, has figure, or is itself a figured body? If so, we confess our utter incapacity to make any thing of it. If by it they understand, that fire, or, which with them is the same thing, light, is the *cause* of figure in all bodies, we have then an affirmation, which is in perfect accordance with the mode of their philosophizing on other operations of nature.

Their account of water and earth is equally absurd. "From light, a change being effected, comes water with the quality of taste; and from water is deposited earth, with the quality of smell." Here we see the chain completed. As from ether arose air, so from air came light, from light water, and from water earth. Here it may very naturally be asked, what connection is there between water and light, or between earth and water? But, "connection, reason, probability," says an eminent writer, "had nothing to do with the case. A theory of successive production struck the fancy of the writers, and all enquiry was out of question." Do the Hindu writers then give no proofs for the support of their statements? To say, that they do not, would be perhaps bringing a charge to which they do not deserve to be exposed. Let us then see what reason they give for the assertion, that from fire proceeds water. "Why," says the Brahman, "does not water vanish in fire? if so, whence can it else come but from fire? A thing, which, when disappearing, enters fire, must needs flow from the same thing, when it appears."

Having thus pointed out the errors in the speculations of the Hindus respecting the origin and qualities of the principal parts of inanimate nature, we annex here a specimen of their ideas concerning one department of animated being. "From hot moisture," says the same great Hindu Law-giver, "are born biting gnats, lice, and common fleas; these, and whatever is of the same class, are produced by heat." Though this is an idea natural enough to strike the fancy of an untutored observer, yet this can in no way plead for the absurdity contained in the supposition. That cranes propagate without the male, another assertion of the Vedas, is simply another absurdity.

On the science of *Botany* we have scarcely been able to gather any thing from the Shastras, worth offering to the public. Of all the Pandits, whom we have consulted, not one was found able to shed any light on the subject

Instead of offering therefore our individual opinion, we insert that of a most industrious explorer of the Sanskrit literature. Mr. Wilford, in his essay on Egypt and the Nile, contained in the 3rd Vol. of the Asiatic Researches, makes the following remark:—"The Hindus were superficial botanists, and gave the same appellation to plants of different classes."

Before we leave the subject in this poor state, we propose to take notice of some particular trees, the descriptions of which are given in the Puránas. In conformity with the custom, we have so often noticed, the Hindu botanists —if they at all deserve that name,—divide all plants into two great classes, the *common*, and the *uncommon*. In the former class, they could discover nothing sufficient to interest their minds; but of the latter class, of which there are only four specimens, they have drawn a most splendid picture. Thus they go on:—"There are four large trees, each with as many roots and branches, with a thousand smaller ones, all beautiful, and with flowers; these trees are the largest in the Dwípas. On the summit of Mandara, is a beautiful Kadamba tree: its fruit is like a great water pot, with flowers with open calices. Its fragrance is felt one thousand yojanas above, and all round. The Jambu tree, most beautiful, is on the south of the mountain of Meru; the fruits of which are Amrita Kalpani, (or like nectar). On the Vípula mountains toward the west is the Plaksha tree: from this flag-like tree, or Ketu, the country is called Ketumala. On Suparswa, in the north, on its summit is a large tree, the Nyagrodha;* its large branches and their circumference extend many yojanas all round." In this description we find a number of most fantastic notions;—to flowers is ascribed a fragrance that can be felt 1,000 yojanas all round; a tree said to be so enormously large as to occupy several yojanas; and to fruits is attributed the taste of the water of immortality. The artificial arrangement also, as opposed to what is natural, of the four trees, each having four roots, and as many great branches, cannot escape notice. We conclude with our own firm belief, that these trees as really exist, as the mountains Mandara, Meru, and others, on which they are said to stand.

It would indeed excite the surprise of our readers to hear that the Hindus, who would not even touch a dead body, much less dissect it, should possess any *anatomical* knowledge

* Or Vata.

at all. But when we remember, that the Hindu authors make their own imagination, the inexhaustible mine of information on all subjects, we cease to wonder at the announcement of their having handled the science of the human body. From the Vedas and the Purânas, however, we receive nothing but some scattered notices of some of the functions of the animal frame, such as the processes of digestion, assimilation, respiration, &c., which are too short and uninteresting to call for any particular attention. It is the Tantras that furnish us, with some extraordinary pieces of information concerning the human body. To these therefore we shall first direct our attention.

But before we enter upon the proposed task, it is necessary to observe, that, of all the Hindu Shastras now extant, the Tantras lie in the greatest obscurity. This is owing partly to the secret and impure nature of the rites which they teach, and partly to the wide spread of the Puranic systems, which in this country have nearly eclipsed every other branch of the Hindu Religion. The Pandits of our country are for the most part either ignorant of this department of Hinduism altogether, or they observe that secrecy which its doctrines require from them. Hence, we have been enabled to do nothing more than to collect the leading points of two great theories of the human frame, from the two annexed maps, with the assistance of a learned Pandit. These theories, as exemplified by the maps, are as famous for their novelty, as for their extravagance.

Before proceeding further, we shall give a brief account of these two most curious drawings of the *interior* of the human body;—we say, *interior*, for at first sight, they do not appear so to be. We propose to do so, on account of their scarcity in this country. All the Pandits, to whom they were shown, were equally startled at the sight, and, after reading them a little, exclaimed, "Oh, you have exposed the most secret parts of our Shastras! we have never seen such things before;—better keep them to yourself, and do not show them to the public." On being asked, why they required such privacy, they answered, "Because these two maps, as we see by reading them, exhibit the theories on which all the *Bijmantras*, or the principal incantations, are founded:" and they pointed out some of the Mantras on the maps, requesting us at the same time, to beware of pronouncing them, on account of our being by caste, a Sudra. The history of the maps is as follows. The late Babu Gunga

Gobinda Singha, a wealthy native, residing in a village near Múrshedabad, spent the greater part of his fortune in making researches into the Hindu Shastras. Not satisfied with the Pandits of his own village, he came to reside in Nuddea, the famous seat of Sanskrit learning in Bengal. By the assistance of the Nuddea Adhyápakas, he was enabled to drink deep at the fountain of Sanskrit lore. But, after a time, he found their knowledge too shallow to serve *all* his purposes. Hence he invited several Pandits from the Upper Provinces, the original seat of Hinduism. It was by a set of these Pandits, known by the name of Daudus, that the originals of these two maps were drawn, according to the principles of the Tantras, expressly for the use of their employer. A few months ago, these originals fell into the hands of a native gentleman of our quarter, also a very diligent explorer of the Hindu Shastras, who gave them to us for inspection. We caused them to be copied by a Brahman: and these copies we now present to our readers, rather as specimens of the wisdom of the Hindus on anatomical subjects, and of the most hidden parts of their Shastras, than for any thing interesting in themselves.

Now it may be asked what do these two theories of the human body treat of? Do they treat of the bones, muscles, arteries, veins, nerves, and ligaments? Do they describe the several organs of the human body, external, and internal, such as the eye, the ear, the nose, the lungs, the stomach, the liver, the intestines, &c.? No! These are common place things, and therefore they are left to the observation of the vulgar. The Tantric theory, on which the well known *yoga*, called Shat-chakra-bheda, is founded, supposes the existence of six main internal organs, called Chakras, or Padmas, all having a general resemblance to that famous flower, the lotus. These are placed, one above the other, and connected by three imaginary chains, the emblems of the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Saraswati. Here we take only a cursory view, referring to Plate III. and the *note*, for a more minute detail of the theory. The first Chakra (A), called Muládhára Chakra, has four petals, and is placed in the pelvic cavity. The second (B), called Linga Chakra, is said to have six petals, and supposed to be in the middle of the intestines. The Chakra (C), placed under the navel, is called the Nábi Chakra, and has ten petals. The fourth Chakra (D), seated at the heart, and containing 12 petals, is called the Hrit Padma. That placed in the thoracic cavity, (E), containing 16 petals, is known by the name of Kantha Chakra. The sixth or last Chakra (F) is seated in

the forehead, and called the Atma Chakra. The small circle marked (a) is the seat of the moon in the navel, and that marked (b) is the seat of the sun.*

Such are the main outlines of the first of the two great theories of the human frame according to the Hindu Shastras. With regard to the six Chakras or Padmas, it should be remarked, that they are even to this day believed really to exist within the body of every individual. What then are we to think of those who could believe such absurdities? We have already had the Vedas, and the Puránas, and now we

* We have been favoured by a friend, with the following literal translation of all the writing on the original drawing, of which plate III. is a copy. It gives a full explanation of this really curious sketch:—

1. After the perforation of the Six Wheels, (the mantra is) *shwetang o mahashetang;* after that (it is) *kulluka;* after that the real work of *jap*, (or repeating the name of some deity).

2. While contemplating form, taste, smell, touch, &c., the establishment of these by meditation is effected.

F. In the brow is the *atma chakra* (wheel of the soul); in that locality are (two petals designated by) two letters ka and ksha, of golden colour. There flow the three streams *Ganga*, *Jamuna*, and *Saraswati*.

E. The *kantha chakra* (wheel of the throat) has sixteen petals, and is like a white water lily. The (presiding debatas deities) are *Mahadeva* (Shiva) *Bhagavati* and *Shakti*. The petals are designated by the sixteen vowels having the chandrabinda attached to each, viz. ang, áng, ung, íng, ung, úng, ring, íng, lung, líng, eng, aing, ong, aung, ang angh. Its corresponding *mantras* are *kurchchah*, *máyá*.

D. The *Hrutpadma*, or water lily in the region of the heart, has twelve petals, and is of blue colour. The presiding deities are *Bhagaván* (*Vishnu*), *Lakshmi*, *Shakti*. In the hand of Bhagaván are the Shangkha, the chakra, the gadá and the padma (the conch, the discus, the mace, the water lily). The corresponding *mantras* are *Kámo* and *Lakshmi*. The (petals are designated by) twelve letters, from ka to tha inclusive, viz. ka, kha, ga, gha, guna, cha, chha, ja, jha. guia, ta, tha.

C. The *nábi chakra*, or wheel of the navel, has ten petals and is of red colour. Its petals are designated by ten letters from da to pha inclusive, viz. da, dha, ána, ta, tha, da, dha, na, pa, pha. The presiding deity is *Bramha;* and the *mantra* is *chamiti hiyang*. There, is the position of the moon and others, as it is said.

> Beside the navel is the moon, beside the moon the Lord of day.
> Beside whom flows the air, and in front of the air is the place of the mind.

B. The Linga chakra has six petals designated by six letters, from ba to la inclusive, viz. ba, bha, ma, ya, ra, la. The presiding deity is *Kandarpa*, without bodily form. The corresponding *mantra*, *Káma-bijang*. There are 108 japs.

A. The lowest chakra has four petals designated by the four letters from wa to sa, inclusive, viz. wa, sha, sha, sa. Its face looks upward. The presiding deities are *Maha Vishnu* and *Ganesha*. In this place *Shakti* has a spiral form, and is resplendent as *Bramha*. It encircles two and a half times.

In the posterior region of Meru, on whose head are the moon and sun (in the region of the spine, on which is supported the head, containing the two eyes) are the left, the right, and middle *naris*, (veins or arteries). On the left are the Shiba-arteries, resembling fire. On the right are the Vishnu-arteries, resembling sunshine. In the middle are the Bramha-arteries, of excessive splendor. As regards the rules for performing the *six works* (which are effected by the recital of magical texts, viz. killing, infatuating, enthralling, expelling, exciting animosity, and privation of faculties) and other similar performances,—by the left (the Shiba arteries), may be effected, *killing, disease, the destruction of enemies, expelling, deprivation of faculties* and the *hatha yoga* and other acts of austerity, by which victory over the senses is obtained: by the right (the Vishnu arteries) *subjection to control*, and every species of work can be effected. By the middle (or Brahma arteries,) every thing mentioned above can be effected; and by the middle one of the Bramha-arteries can be attained the perfection of intellect. The middle arteries are of a white colour; the left and right are red.

have the Tantras before us. We find them all much alike. Imagination is the foundation of them all, and truth has little share in any. It would be idle waste of time to point out the errors and absurdities contained in this theory. But such is the obstinacy with which the Hindus adhere to these erroneous notions, that even, when we show them, by actual dissection, the non-existence of the imaginary Chakras in the human body, they will rather have recourse to excuses revolting to common sense, than acknowledge the evidence of their own eyes. They say, with a shamelessness unparalleled, that these Padmas exist as long as a man lives, but disappear the moment he dies. Those who will not believe their own senses, what can be said by us to convince them?

The second theory, which is a mixture both of anatomy and phrenology, is still more grand. Its main doctrine is that the seats of all mental faculties, passions, and feelings, are within the great trunk of the body; and that each of the faculties and passions has its respective material organ, by which its function is carried on: so that the brain, which is the real seat of all the mental faculties, is altogether put out of the question. Here therefore we have a sort of compound absurdity. In the first place, all the mental functions are made the result of matter, for material organs are assigned to them: and, in the second place, not one of these organs is placed in the head. This latter circumstance does strongly incline us to believe, that the ancient anatomists of Hindustan possessed no brain at all. It is not our business to refute in this place the doctrine of Materialism. Allowing it to be true, the absurdity of the theory is not in the least diminished.

But this is not all. In the middle of the lowest extremity of the trunk of the body, is placed a tortoise (A), as will be seen by referring to plate II. Above this, we see a small serpent (B), the representation of the great Ananta. Above this is a Chakra (C) of 4 petals, called the Adhára Chakra, the seat of Ganesha. Then in regular gradation, one rising above the other, we have the following wonderful objects:—(D), the Adhishtán Chakra of 6 petals, the seat of Brahmá; (E), the navel, like the Roman figure XX; (F), the gastric fire; (G), the Padma, called Manipura, where Vishnu is said to reside; (H), the Mánasha Chakra, the seat of the mind; (I), the Anáhata Chakra, the place of Shiva; (J), the Bishunda Chakra, the seat of life; and (K), the Triganti, three small circles, the meaning of which we do not know. In the head, under the eyes, are the Agyankhya Chakra on the right, and Balaban Chakra on the left side; and in

the fore-head is placed the king of the birds, the Goose (L). Within the cranium is the Karpara Chakra, at the top of which is the Brahma-Randra, the passage through which the souls of virtuous men are said to ascend to heaven. All these unheard of and unseen objects, the tortoise, the serpent, the gastric fire, the Chakras, the goose, are believed *literally* to exist within the human body, of which we have received several testimonies from the mouths of the Brahmans. If this be not fanaticism, carried almost to insanity, we know not any thing in the world more appropriately deserving the name.

As for the internal organs, by which the faculties of the mind are said to be manifested, we give here a translation of their names, referring to plate II. for the corresponding numbers :—

1. Covetousness.
2. Envy.
3. Wickedness.
4. Irreligion, or Impiety.
5. The waking state.
6. The faculty leading to seek the Supreme Being, or Spirituality.
7. Compassion.
8. Good sense.
9. The love of one's own religion.
10. The mind.
11. Religious penance.
12. Anger.
13. The dreaming state.
14. Goodness.
15. The vowel a.
16. Bramha.
17. Pedantry.
18. Intelligence.
19. The place of the mind.
20. Fire.
21. The state of profound sleep.
22. Passion.
23. The vowel u.
24. Vishnu.
25. False ostentation of wisdom.
26. Attention.
27. The place of intelligence.
28. Water.
29. Orjya.
30. Ignorance, or darkness.
31. The Letter m.
32. Shiva.
33. False ostentation of bodily accomplishments.
34. Egotism.
35. The place of life.
36. The air.
37. Bramha randra.
38. Karpara Chakra.
39. The goose.
40. Triganti.
41. Bishunda Chakra
42. Anáhata Chakra.
43. Manasha Chakra.
44. Mani pura.
45. Gastric fire.
46. The navel.
47. Adhishtán Chakra.
48. Adhára Chakra.
49. The endless serpent, Ananta.
50. The tortoise.
51. Sálokya.
52. Sohangpada.
53. Múrddhni.
54. State of Childhood.
55. Leanness of body.
56. Happiness.
57. The enjoyment of visible objects.
58. The family state.
59. Sámípya.
60. Tangpada.
61. The heart.
62. The state of youthfulness.
63. Obesity.
64. Misery.
65. The enjoyment of imaginary objects.
66. The state of a mendicant.
67. Sárúpya.
68. Tatpada.
69. The belly.
70. Old age.
71. Káranadeha.
72. Birth.
73. The enjoyment of optional objects.
74. Brahmáchári.
75. Sayujya.
76. Devotedness.
77. Useful knowledge.
78. Wisdom
79. Discrimination.
80. Death.
81. Charitableness.
82. Pride.
83. Ignorance.
84. Want of knowledge.
85. Self-conceitedness.
86. The habit of reproaching.
87. The fruits of virtue.
88. The fruits of vice.

Having taken this brief view, of the two main anatomical theories contained in the Tantras, we next turn our attention to some isolated notices on the same subject found in the Vedas.

The Vedas maintain that, in the heart of every person, there is a corporeal being, of the size of the thumb, called *Linga Sharira.* This is the whole man in miniature, and at death goes out through an artery, called Shusamna. The Vedantists try to evade the absurdity of supposing the existence of this *little man* in the heart of every body, and, to escape detection from actual dissection, they assert, that it does not remain in its place after death,—a sophistry too common among the Hindus, who always attempt to explain one absurd supposition by another. Yet they have every reason to say, that the existence of the Linga Sharira is as true, as the Chakras, the tortoise, and the serpent.

Moreover the Vedanta Sutras say: "A hundred and one arteries issue from the heart, one of which passes to the crown of the head." Nothing can be more flatly contradictory to truth and observation. Let the Vedantist but once enter the dissecting room of the Medical College, and there he will find a practical refutation of his opinion. We see only two arteries, the great Aorta, and the Pulmonary artery, issuing from the heart; by the former and its ramifications, the blood is conveyed to the extremities of the body; by the latter and its branches, it is carried over the lungs, that it may be aerated, or purified in that organ. Besides, instead of one artery, several are known to enter the crown of the head.

The Vedanta Sutras furnish us with some further notices on two very important functions of the animal frame, the processes of assimilation and respiration. "When nourishment," say they, "is received into the corporeal frame, it undergoes a threefold distribution, according to its fineness or coarseness. Corn, and other terrene food, becomes flesh; but the coarser portion is ejected, and the finer nourishes the mental organs. Water is converted into blood; the coarser part is ejected as urine. Oil, and other combustible substances deemed igneous, become marrow; the coarser part is deposited as bone, and the finer supplies the faculty of speech." (Brahmá Sutra, 2. 4. § 9.)

From this physiological extract, it sufficiently appears, how much the sages of Hindustan rely merely on external appearances, and draw their inferences from these alone. It contains nothing more than such easy guesses, as would occur to the most vulgar and untutored mind:—solid food is turned into thick flesh, water into liquid blood, and oil into the greasy substance, marrow. Is not this natural enough to strike the fancy of the most ignorant and careless observer?

But natural as it is, there is not the least trace of truth in it. Whatever substances are taken into the stomach, they are all dissolved by the action of the gastric juice, and converted into one, uniform, pulpy mass, called chyme. Here, we may as well remark, that there is no such thing as fire in the stomach. What the Hindus erroneously take for fire, is in reality the gastric juice, which is secreted from various small glands, placed between the coats of the stomach. Chyme next passes through the pylorus into the intestines, where, after undergoing some changes by the action of the bile and the Pancreatic juice, it becomes capable of affording a fluid, somewhat resembling milk in appearance, called chyle, which is in fact the real blood. This fluid after several processes becomes red blood, which supplies nourishment to *all* the parts of the animal frame. Thus we see the error of the Vedantists, who suppose different kinds of substances to nourish different parts of the body. What they mean, when they declare, that the finer particles of water and oil severally support the breath and the faculty of speech, it is impossible to say. It is however an affirmation, which, notwithstanding the absurdity it implies, "is in exact harmony with the mode of guessing at the operations of nature, admired as philosophy among the Hindus."

There is another point in the physiology of the Vedas, that deserves some attention. It respects the process of respiration. The account is as follows:—"Respiration is a vital act, and comprehends five such.—1st, Respiration, or an act operating upwards. 2nd, Inspiration, one operating downwards. 3rd, A vigorous action, which is a mean between the foregoing two. 4th, Expiration, or passage upwards. 5th, Digestion, or circulation of nutriment throughout the corporeal frame." Numerous are the errors contained in this account of the process of respiration, of which we shall mark only one or two. Respiration is confined only to the action of the lungs, and has no connection whatever with any other functions of the internal organs. But the Hindu philosophers would make it a compound process, consisting of different operations, which have no connection with one another. But the grossest of all the errors committed by them on the subject, is the supposition, by which the processes of digestion and the circulation of nutriment are reckoned as parts of the action of respiration. We need not however dwell any longer on this point. If the opinions of the Hindus are found to be erroneous on subjects which a mere child can understand, how can we expect them to be accurate in describing such a difficult process as respiration?

Here we bring our subject to a close. We have examined

in order, the Geography, Astronomy, Chemistry, Botany, Anatomy, and Physiology of the Hindus, and we have found them abounding in errors of every description. We have not even met with any isolated point belonging to any of these sciences, as treated among the Hindus, which is altogether free from mistake. Now we turn against the defenders of Hinduism, the Brahmans and others who so strenuously uphold that system, and ask them, do they know what they are doing? "What!" they reply, "we are doing nothing, but maintaining the Shastras of our forefathers, and defending our own faith." And in so doing, we say, you are fighting against truth, and heaping on your heads the responsibility of corrupting the minds of your children and your fellow-creatures, by leading them in the dark, and storing their minds with nothing but errors and falsehood.

Again, we ask them, Is this the boasted religion of their forefathers? Is this the best of all creeds in the world? Is this the faith, every part of which is said to be received by inspiration of Heaven? It will not do now to say to us, What do you know of the Hindu religion, that you come to decide upon its merits? Though we may not be able to understand your dark metaphysics, your intricate logic, and your obscure religious dogmas, yet we have discovered in your religion many things, which can be brought down to the level of the understanding of a mere boy. Your Shastras interfere with scientific subjects, of which we possess the best knowledge, and in these we find them blunder in a most ridiculous manner. We take not your metaphysics, or logic, or religious doctrines, but your science only, to falsify your religion, and lay the axe to the root of its claim to divine origin.

We may now perceive the policy of the Hindu Sages, in having prohibited all men, except the Brahmans, the brothers of the same fraternity, from reading the Shastras. The door was kept close shut, lest LIGHT should enter in, and discover what is within the closet. But the bar is broken, and we have got into the room. The golden days of the Brahmans have past away. Hindus have now begun to think for themselves. The sun of knowledge has begun to shine over the night-brooding soil of Hindustan. Light has begun to enter into the minds of her children. Neither the Brahmans nor their Shastras are now held peculiarly sacred. Men have begun to ask for evidence. What is then to become of its defenders—of the Hindu religion itself? But we must stop here. All beyond is dark.

NOTE.—It should be stated, that the work quoted in the text, and to which the writer is chiefly indebted for pp. 434, 135, is Mill's History of India.

ART. V.—*A letter to the Right Hon'ble Sir J. Hobhouse, President of the Board of Controul, on the Baggage of the Indian Army; by Sir Charles James Napier, G. C. B., Lieutenant General, and Colonel of the 22nd Regiment of Foot. London,* 1849.

THIS is a gem—in its way. It may have been but a rough diamond when first it was offered to Sir John Hobhouse and the public; but since that time, it has received the highest official polish, and the most costly setting of authority. The Colonel of the 22nd. Regiment of Foot has straight risen up Commander-in-chief of the Forces in India. He who wrote in February "I have not now any better way of expressing my admiration of their (the Indian army's) courage and discipline, and my affection for them generally," than by the publication of this pamphlet, has now, in June, all sorts of better ways; he commands that army which, in his own words, "when well commanded is indomitable;" and it is his to effect those changes, and to promote those reforms, in the field and in the council-chamber, which a few months ago he could only recommend from his closet. The humble pamphlet before us, under such circumstances, is transformed into an important official minute. It swells into bulk and significance, as, under the wand of the fairy, the pumpkin and the mice, in the legend of *Cinderella*, grew into a coach and horses. It comes before us with the seal of authority upon it; and we handle it with as much reverence and awe, as though we had taken it from a box, marked "Military Department," and brought by a Government peon. There is no looking lightly at it now. It is a treatise on the baggage of the Indian army by the Commander-in-chief of the Indian army; and as such, in spite of its slender dimensions, it is the most important contribution to our military literature that has reached us for a long time.

Sir Charles Napier had not been long in the east, before he had ocular demonstration of a fact, of which he had before acquired a dim perception from the perusal of Indian history—the fact that *baggage*, a curse to all armies at all times and in all places, is a ten-fold curse to an Indian army. He saw what it was in 1842, when General England's force went straggling into Sukkur; and he said to his aid-de-camp (he had ridden out to meet the advancing column), "If a troop of active cavalry were to hang on General England's march, his baggage would be lost." "Yet General England's baggage," he writes in his letter

to Sir J. Hobhouse, "was not worse than any other General's baggage." And then, as though conscious he was treading on rather delicate ground, he adds in a note, "I make no reflection upon that officer; on the contrary, he had unusual difficulties to encounter." It was not, assuredly, General England's fault, that he had an unmanageable *baggage*, and that it went sprawling into Sukkur in "a dangerous and disorderly state." The highest praise is due to a General, when his *baggage* is not in a dangerous and disorderly state. There have been instances of general officers who have traversed a very difficult country with a very extensive *baggage*, and yet have lost little or none of it on the march, and never suffered it, when once in a condition to move, to impede the progress of the troops; but these instances are rare—and, however little the merit of such careful management may be understood out of the army, or appreciated in it, in comparison with more dashing exploits, it indicates a higher order of military genius than the successful fighting of a battle or capture of a fort. In ordinary civil society, indeed (we do not speak of Indian society, for all society is here at least semi-military, and military affairs are better understood by civilians than they are in any part of Europe) *baggage* scarcely ever enters into the comprehension of the reader of cotemporary chronicles of military operations. An army is simply, in his understanding, an army—so many infantry, so many cavalry regiments, and so many guns with artillerymen to serve them. He wonders why an army cannot march hither and thither; why there is so much delay; why there are so many difficulties. He sees only the fighting-men and the country to be traversed; and it seems to him not much more difficult to move the columns from one point to another, than the ivory knights and pawns and castles from one square to another of the chess-board. He little thinks how small a portion of an army are these disciplined fighting-men, and how easy, in comparison, would be the conduct of military operations, if the commander had only to bethink himself of these moveable battalions, obedient in an instant to the word of command. He little thinks that there is, at the tail of this army, a cumbrous mass of ten-fold its own weight, to be dragged wherever it goes, over barren plains or high mountains, through deep defiles or across broad rivers, impeding its movements, obstructing its progress, making easy things difficult, and difficult things impossible, thwarting the wisest plans, bewildering the clearest brains, and turning into vanity and nothingness the highest courage and the finest skill. In a word, there is no *baggage* in his picture of an army. His

soldiers live without eating—sleep in the open air—carry their own ammunition—are never sick—and have no such word as "establishment" in their vocabulary.

It is possible that something of the surprise, now often expresssed by civilians, at the slow movements of our Indian armies, would vanish at the first sight of the huge cumbrous thing itself—the immense unwieldy congeries of sensate and insensate matter—of men and things—of human and brute life—of all the manifold appliances and means to boot of warfare—all the thousand articles necessary for the maintenance of a populous, moving, garrison-town. It is hard to say what there is not in this mass of things animate and inanimate;—human beings of every possible kind; soldiers, merchants, money-dealers, market-men, servants, clerks, writers, artificers, dooly-bearers, camel-drivers, bullock-drivers, tent-pitchers, porters, with women and children indescribable; horses, elephants camels, bullocks, mules, ponies, with prowling dogs and jackals everywhere, and birds of prey hovering above;—guns, ammunition-carriages, hospital-dulies, tent-equipages, office-establishments, mess-establishments, and the overpowering commissariat, which is to feed this multitude of hungry men and hungrier cattle. Sir Charles Napier's first proposition is "that an India army requires more baggage than any other army in the world." This he says is "incontrovertible."—So it is.

But at all times, and in all places, *baggage* has been the great stumbling block of military enterprise. The Greeks and the Romans found it so. From the time when Xenophon wrote, in the first great military history extant, Σχολαιον γαρ ἐποιουν την πορειαν πολλα ονται τα ὑποζύγια και τα αιχμαλωτα—(for the baggage and the spoil* being so extensive rendered the march a tedious one); from the time when Tacitus wrote of *longum impedimentorum agmen, opportunum ad insidias, defensantibus iniquum*—of the "long train of baggage, the very thing" as Sir Charles Napier would translate it "for the ambuscades of the enemy, but the devil to defend"—from the time, when Cæsar, whose barbarian enemies soon discovered his weak point, exhorted his followers to leave their *baggage* behind in Italy, down to the affair of Buddowal, the best armies have been cramped and impeded by their *baggage*, and the best Generals have been puzzled what to do with it. In that famous retreat of the ten thousand, which even in these days is almost as interesting as our narratives of the retreat from Cabul,†

* The live spoil—the slaves taken in war, included.

† There are some passages in the fifth book of the *Anabasis*, which call painfully to mind the horrors of that melancholy retreat through the snows of the Cabul passes;

Xenophon found the difficulty of protecting his *baggage* the hardest that he had to encounter. He seems, however, to have had clearer notions on the subject than any of his predecessors in the command of the army. It had been before too much exposed to the sudden attacks of the enemy hovering on the flanks of the Greek army; he therefore directed the force to march in four divisions, inclosing the *baggage* in a hollow square—*πορευεσθαι πλαισιον ποιησαμενους των ὅπλων, ινα τα σκευοφόρα και ὁ πολυς οχλος εν ασφαλεστερω ειη*—(to march, forming an armed square, that the baggage and the camp-followers might go on in safety). Long afterwards, the rule laid down by Vegetius was "Primi equites iter arripiant, inde pedites: impedimenta, calones, vehicula, in medio collocentur, ita ut expedita pars peditum et equitum subsequatur." The immense quantity of spoil, principally live spoil, that was carried off by the conquerors of old, greatly increased their difficulties.

But we must not linger in these classic fields, nor must we launch ourselves upon the attractive paths of European military history. We had purposed to cite one modern instance—the case of Napoleon's immense armies; but even that we can only afford space briefly to touch upon. No soldiers in the world ever knew the meaning of the word *starvation* better than Napoleon Buonaparte's. If he had not been so careless of sacrificing his men—if he had not often started on his campaigns trusting to providence for his supplies, he would neither have risen—nor fallen—with such rapidity. Chance was his commissary general. At Moscow, the elite of his officers, clothed in the richest furs and costliest silk, were fain to eat horse flesh off golden dishes; at Dresden, the troops under St. Cyr were reduced to rations of the same description of animal food, killing thirty horses a day for the sustenance of the famishing soldiers.* Napoleon even exhausted the countries through which he passed, and soon tasted the bitter fruits of the exhaustion. An army cannot live for

Των δ' αλλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὴ δυναμενοι διατελεσαι την οδον ενευκτερευσαν ασιτοι, και ανευ πυρος; και ενταυθα' τινες ἀπώλοντο των στρατιωτων, (such of the soldiers, as had not power to complete the march, passed the night without food and without fire; and then some of them perished outright). And again, a little further on, in the same chapter;—*Ελείποντο δε και τῶν στρατιωτῶν οι τε διεφθαρμένοι ὑπο της χιόνος τους οφθαλμους, οι τε υπο του ψυχους τους δακτυλους των ποδων αποσεσηποτες*—(there were left behind such of the soldiers, as had been blinded by the snow, or whose toes had been rotted off by the frost). Many other passages might be cited with equal force of application.

* The most remarkable instance of military starvation, with which we are acquainted, is to be found in the history of Genghis Khan. When he attacked Pekin in 1213, besiegers and besieged were alike reduced to the necessity *of eating one another.*

ever on plunder. Napoleon's case, though a brilliant exception to many rules, is no exception to this.

It is with the *baggage* of the *Indian* army that we have to deal in this article. Sir Charles Napier says it is the worst *baggage* in the world ; and that he had often read of it in Indian history. It is an old tale, indeed. The wars with Hyder, Tippu, and Holkar, developed, in full perfection, the blessings of the *impedimenta*, with which it was necessary to move. It may not be uninteresting to cite from cotemporary historians, some narrative passages, illustrative of the difficulties encountered by our predecessors in these wars. There is nothing in the instances quoted, to which, in all probability, the soldier of the present day cannot readily adduce a parallel, from the budget of his own experience. It will console him, perhaps, to know, that his father and grand-father before him were familiar with difficulties and disasters of the same kind as afflict him now. We wish that some further consolation were derivable from the reflection, that our long experience of Indian warfare has rendered us more skilled in the conduct of armies and the disposal of their components. Whatever progress we have made in the science of government, it must, we fear, be acknowledged, that our proficiency in the art of war has not advanced, since Lawrence, Clive, and Coote fought our earliest battles with such brilliant results.

In the war with Hyder Ali, General Smith was constantly getting into difficulties with his baggage. There is a curious story told by a French memoir-writer, of the manner in which the contractors, in those days, obtained and dealt with the military cattle. "Two singular methods of plundering," says M. De la Tour, "were invented upon this occasion. The first was that, instead of supplying the troops with arrack, an article easily procured over all the country, it was thought proper to give them rum ; because it could be had only from Batavia, and consequently afforded means of enriching those who were concerned in procuring it. The second related to the supplying the army with beasts of carriage. As no one could be found, who would engage to furnish the army with oxen for the artillery, baggage, &c., they took them by force from the inhabitants ; but, instead of paying for them at the rate of six or eight pagodas, their real value, they took them on hire at a pagoda per month. At the end of the first month, they paid the owner a pagoda ; but on the expiration of the second, they informed him that his beast was dead. The ox, thus obtained out of the hands of its proprietor, was passed to the account of the company, as purchased at its full value ; though

'by this infamous manœuvre, it cost no more than a pagoda. 'If the proprietor had chosen to have sent a servant with his 'ox, he must have paid him five rupees a month, instead of 'three and a half, which is the value of the pagoda at Madras. 'By the operation of this happy project, the country was soon 'stripped of all its cattle; no one choosing to purchase any for 'the purpose of seeing themselves robbed with impunity. In 'consequence of this, the greater part of the army necessaries 'were obliged to be carried by men." Knowing the large fortunes made by contractors in those days, we can easily believe that they not only knew that trick, but many "a trick worth two of that." The same writer gives an account of the appendages of an Indian army, in those days, which is well worth transcribing:—"The Indian armies have great quantities of '*baggage*, carried by oxen and camels, but chiefly by oxen,—the 'camel being fit for little besides parade; for this animal, on 'account of its fleshy feet cannot he shod, and is incapable of 'travelling either on a stony or a muddy clay soil, being apt to 'fall; it is likewise with difficulty made to pass a river; and is 'besides, absolutely incapable either of ascending or descending a 'mountain, when loaded. Besides the baggage of the army, it is 'followed by a great number of merchants* and workmen of every 'kind, who have many beasts of burthen. Ayder (Hyder) gave 'orders that all these, not excepting those of the sovereign, 'should carry a ball from twelve to six and thirty pounds, for 'which the proprietor of the beast should be answerable. A 'horde, consisting of a kind of Bohemians, very numerous in 'India, of unknown origin, inhabitants of the woods, (whom 'the prejudice of India has forbidden to dwell in walled 'towns, because it is said they eat every kind of animal or 'reptile) was permitted by Ayder, who is above prejudice, to 'follow the army, and sell milk, wood, and everything their 'industry could procure. These men undertook to convey a 'considerable part of the powder, by means of their little 'carriages, drawn by buffaloes: to assist them in procuring a 'subsistence, part of them were taken into pay as pioneers,

* "These merchants," says M. De la Tour in a note, "are the purveyors of the army, and render it unnecessary for the sovereign to provide other commissaries; it is sufficient for the General to keep the passages free, and to instruct them by the cotwall or provost, of the quantity of rice in the army. Rice, which is the only grain made use of either by Indian or European troops, does not require to be made into bread; and consequently there is no trouble of constructing ovens, which would be necessary in furnishing an army with bread. However, the officers, and all who choose to go to the price, may have excellent bread in the Indian armies, which is baked in portable ovens, a kind of utensil that might be introduced with great advantage into European armies"—*The History of Ayder Ali Khan, Nabob Behader; or New Memoirs concerning the East Indies;* 1786.

'and were of the greatest utility in sieges, and the construction 'of intrenchments, or repairing roads, as well by carrying 'earth, as by making gabions and fascines. The harness of all 'the cannon and artillery was doubled; and that nothing might 'retard their march, every piece of eighteen-pounds or upwards 'was provided with an elephant. The ammunition waggons 'carried two hundred charges of powder, and an immense num-'ber of cartridges for the musquetry. Every battalion of 'grenadier seapoys had two fourteen-pounders in its suite." From this we may gather that if, since the old times, when the French disciplined Hyder's army, we have learnt to turn our camels to better account, at least in upper India, we have not learnt to make such good use of our camp-followers.

M. De la Tour, who was commandant of Hyder's artillery, has, like Sir Charles Napier, an anecdote, illustrative of the sagacity of the gun elephants. In a former article, we gave on Colonel Jack's authority, a story of a fine old *Mukhna*, employed to help the heavy guns up the assent to Kote-Kangra. Sir Charles Napier tells his tale, not in an equally laudatory strain. —"Here," he says, "I cannot refrain from telling a story of 'one of the Scinde elephants, taken in 1843, and called by 'some one *Kubadar Moll*. He belongs to the baggage corps, 'and has been attached to a regiment marching up to Multan. 'These letters tell me that *Kubadar Moll* allows them to load 'him as much as they like, and then deliberately, with his trunk, 'takes all off again, beyond the quantity he thinks fair to be put 'upon his back! They dare not put anything on again. *Ku-'badar Moll* should be in his proper place, carrying the 'great lantern, and not carrying the mess-tent of a regiment." The French officer says, "It can hardly be imagined how 'useful these elephants are, nor with what skill and in-'telligence they do their work. When a piece of artillery 'is drawn up a hill, the elephant is behind it, and sus-'tains it with his *foot*," (they put their heads to it now-a-'days), "while the oxen pause to take breath: if the piece 'is going down a hill, the elephant retains it by a rope fas-'tened to his trunk: if the tackle gets entangled, or if the 'piece oversets, or sticks fast, he assists the oxen, according 'to the circumstances. An officer of reputation, then major 'of artillery, but now (1782) resident at Paris, affirms that he 'has seen the elephant of a piece of cannon (out of patience to 'see that the oxen did not draw, in spite of the whips of their 'drivers) cut a branch off a tree, and beat those animals till they 'acted as he thought proper! When the piece is brought before 'the battery, the elephant himself places it in the embrasure,

'without any assistance." Elephants have from time immemorial been very useful animals in war. The ancients turned them to better account than we do in these days. They were, so to speak, the ordnance of antiquity; and we read in the chronicles of classical warfare, that an army lost so many men killed, and so many elephants taken—as we now write of so many guns.

It was Hyder Ali's game to detach bodies of cavalry to ravage the country, and to cut off the English General's baggage. "The advantages," writes the French historian, "of General 'Smith over Ayder were balanced by very great disadvantages; 'namely, first the inferiority of his cavalry, which obliged him 'to reduce the theatre of war, as much as possible to the mountainous country; secondly, the impossibility of his preventing 'the cavalry from ravaging the country and cutting off his convoys; thirdly, the very great difficulty of procuring a sufficient 'number of oxen for the conveyance of his artillery, ammunition and baggage—a difficulty of such importance that it 'reduced him to the necessity of having an inferior train of artillery, and to spare his provisions and stores beyond what 'would otherwise have been necessary." Hyder himself, when he had formed any grand design, in the course of the desultory warfare he was carrying on in the Carnatic, not unfrequently left his baggage behind him. On one occasion we are told that "the whole army and artillery of Hyder cleared through the 'pass in the course of the day, but the baggage and provisions 'came through in the night, so that the Europeans in the army, 'who had marched from day-break till night, and were fatigued 'by that, as by hunting (the country abounding with game), 'were not very well satisfied, at night, to be obliged to eat their 'game, roasted as well as they could, without bread or rice, to 'the great diversion of Hyder, who in vain advised them to wait 'for the cooks." Sometimes, however, he managed to get into a terrible state of confusion with his baggage—encamping on badly chosen ground, and not being able to move off without mixing up his carriage with his troops, and throwing the whole mass into such a state of disorder, that if the English General had only played Hyder's old game, he might have retaliated with terrible severity. After the battle of Trinamaly, where Smith beat Hyder and the Nizam, the French writer, though ever ready to praise the generalship of the Nawab, admits that he here made a disastrous mistake. Having no other way out of his camp, but by a rocky jungly pass, scarcely practicable for a single carriage, he soon learnt most unmistakeably the evils of much baggage. "This road," says M De la Tour, "was very soon choked 'up by the number of beasts of burthen, whose owners had anti-

'cipated the order for raising the camp. The pass was divided 'into two, one leading to the camp of Nizam: all the baggage 'marched at their own discretion; a considerable number took 'the right hand road, and crossed the immense baggage of the 'Nizam's army, that marched in the greatest disorder intermixed 'with artillery. The consequence of all this disorder was a 'stoppage, that prevented the march of Ayder's artillery, in 'spite of all the pains that were taken to get it forward by 'the light of more than a hundred torches; for, as they com-'pelled the loaded beasts to walk on the borders of the road, 'they fell and overthrew their burthens, which occasioned 'cries and a dreadful tumult, the noise being repeated by the 'mountains: so that nothing better could be done than to 'despatch some troops to stop the march, and give orders for 'every one to remain where he was till morning. If General 'Smith had detached a small party of his infantry, by a circuit 'of two leagues, they might have entered the camp of the Ni-'zam, and by a few shot among the fugitives and conductors of '*baggage*, they might have occasioned so much disorder, as 'would have rendered the consequences of the victory of the 'utmost importance." This scene has often been repeated since, and with more disastrous results. It is a very ordinary exemplification of the advantages of much *baggage*.

The war in the Carnatic with Hyder Ali teems with instances of movements impeded by *baggage*, and of *baggage* captured by the enemy. The war with Hyder's successor is equally pregnant with illustrative examples. We must reject much of the *materiel* we have collected, and pass on at once to the time when Lord Cornwallis took the field against Tippu Sultan. Cornwallis's great stumbling block was *baggage*. His first campaign was a great disaster. The *impedimenta* of his army proved fatal to him; and, in the hot weather of 1791, after destroying the greater part of his battering train, and sacrificing the greater portion of his *baggage*, he was compelled to retire from before Seringapatam. An epidemic disorder broke out among his cattle. Numbers fell by the way; and the remainder were barely capable of work. Grain was so scarce that the famished camp-followers were compelled to feed on the diseased carcases of the bullocks. The cavalry horses were reduced to such a state that they could not carry their riders; and many were shot as useless incumbrances. The officers, who had given up the greater part of their private carriage for public uses, suffered so severely that in many cases they were compelled to ask for the rations that were served out to the privates. The tents were little better than tinder; and the clothes of officers and

men were reduced to mere rags. "The ground at Caniambad-
'dy," writes Major Dirom, "where the army had encamped but
'six days, was covered, in a circuit of several miles, with the
'carcases of cattle and horses; and the last of the gun-car-
'riages, carts, and stores of the battering train, left in flames,
'was a melancholy spectacle, which the troops passed, as they
'quitted the deadly camp."

The Mahrattas, with ample supplies, soon joined them. There was plenty of money in the camp, and the proprietors of grain sold it, somewhat as provision-mongers sell their stores at the Californian "diggings" in these days. Three seers of rice and six of gram were sold for the rupee; "so that," says Major Dirom, "the wages of the black servants could not provide them
'with grain, and the pay of a subaltern would scarcely feed his
'horse. But grain was now worth its weight in gold, and there
'was little hesitation in making the exchange." The junction was serviceable in other respects. The Mahratta horse not only protected our columns, but harrassed the enemy, intercepted their convoys, and captured their cattle. Our sick were at this time carried, at funeral pace, on the backs of the cavalry horses—the troopers walking by their sides.

The campaign was to be resumed, without loss of time; but how were the *baggage-cattle* to be obtained? Forty thousand beasts of burden had perished during the previous expedition. It was plain that the contractors alone could not do it; so agents were employed on the part of Government. To lighten the difficulty as much as possible, Lord Cornwallis "made an offer of a
'monthly allowance to the officers of the army, who would engage
'to carry and provide their own tents for the remainder of the
'war; and to officers commanding battalions of sepoys, who
'would in like manner engage for the men's tents, and for the car-
'riage of the amunition and stores attached to their corps." The great efforts made were crowned with success; and before the end of August the army was refitted. The contractors had supplied 28,000 bullocks from the Carnatic, and 10,000 more from the southern countries. But the exhaustion caused by the preceding campaign had been so great, that both cattle and grain were high priced; and the contractors are said to have made little or nothing by their exertions. When therefore, shortly afterwards, Lord Cornwallis determined to knock the system on the head, they resigned their contracts with very little regret. We cannot afford to enter much into detail, but, before leaving Lord Cornwallis's army, we must give an extract from Major Dirom's narrative, illustrative of the position of the baggage on the line of march—premising only that less judicious arrangements

had been made in the previous campaign, and that Lord Cornwallis, on this as on other occasions, turned his experience to good account.

"On the 1st of February," writes Major Dirom, "the allied armies commenced their march from Hooleadroog in the following order: the English army moved off as usual, at day break, in three columns, 1st, the battering guns, tumbrils and heavy carriages, on the great road, formed the centre column. 2nd. The line of infantry and field pieces, on a road made for them at the distance of a hundred yards or more, as the ground required, marched parallel to the battering train, and on its right, that being the flank next to the enemy. 3d. The smaller store carts and private baggage carts marched in like manner on a road to the left of the battering train, beyond which was the great mass of baggage, carried on elephants, camels, bullocks and coolies, all the servants of the army, and the families of the sepoys. This immense multitude on the baggage flank was prevented from going a-head of the columns by the baggage master and his guards, and was flanked (giving it a space of several miles which it required,) by the part of the cavalry not on other duties, and the infantry of the reserve. The advanced guard was formed of a regiment of cavalry, the body-guards, and the detail of infantry for the picquets of the new camp. The rear guard was formed of a regiment of cavalry and the picquets of the old camp, and did not move till they saw the *baggage* and the stores off the old ground of encampment. In this manner the line of march was shortened to one third of what would be its extent if confined to one road; and, from the component parts of the army being thus classed and divided, the whole moved on with as much ease, as if the battering train only had been upon the march. The heavy equipment of the army, great guns, store carts, provision, and *baggage*, thus formed a mass of immense breadth and depth, guarded in such manner on all sides, that on no quarter could the enemy approach to the stores or *baggage*, without opposition from some parts of the troops on the march."

When Lord Mornington arrived in India in 1798, he determined as we have shown in previous articles, at once to assemble an army, and march against Tippu Sultan. He knew nothing of war—he knew nothing of *baggage*. However commendable his promptitude, his griffinism was extreme. Poor Mr. Webbe, the Madras Secretary, was thrown into a paroxysm of alarm; and saw nothing but utter destruction in the energy of the young Governor-General. The army might be collected in a month or two; but how was the *baggage* to be got ready? The Governor-General was obliged to succumb to the pressure of reason and experience. "If circumstances," writes Colonel Beatson, "his aid-de-camp had been favorable for such an 'attempt, it was his fixed determination to have attacked the 'Sultan instantly, for the purpose of defeating his hostile pre-'parations, and of anticipating their declared object. His Lord-'ship was concerned, however, to learn from persons most con-'versant in military details at Fort St. George, that notwith-'standing the distinguished discipline of the army on the coast

'of Coromandel and the eminent valour activity and skill of 'its officers, its dispersed state, joined to certain radical defects 'in its establishments, would render the assembling a force 'equal to offensive movements against Tippoo Sultan, a much 'more tedious and difficult operation than he had apprehended. 'The necessarily dispersed state of the troops would have been 'of less importance, but for those radical defects which have, 'in a certain degree, at all times existed. These proceed from 'a system of economy, which precludes the expence of establish-'ing depots of grain in different parts of our possessions, and of 'maintaining *a fixed establishment of draught and carriage 'cattle*: without which no portion of the Madras army, how-'ever it might have been supplied with every other requisite 'for field operations, was in a condition to act with prompti-'tude and effect. It is true that during the administration of 'Sir Archibald Campbell those defects were partly and parti-'ally removed, by a small proportion of cattle, not exceeding 'three thousand, being at that period attached to the military 'establishment; but having been found expensive and inade-'quate to the purpose, it was discontinued at the peace of 1792." '(*View of the origin and conduct of the war with Tippoo Sul-'tan*)."* Here we see, that more than half a century ago, an attempt was made to establish something of a baggage-corps, but abandoned on the plea of expence.

On the 20th of June 1798, the first order for the assembling of the Mysore army was issued; but it was not until the middle of February 1799, that General Harris made his first movement in advance. His army, exclusive of the Nizam's troops, consisted of about 34,000 men of all arms "completely equipped and liberally supplied." It was the finest and most cumbrous army that had yet been taken into the field. On the 10th of March, it moved from Kelamungalum—at which the main action may be said to have commenced. "Our hero" was well posted. "The cavalry 'were in advance, the *baggage* on the right, and the Nizam's 'contingent, which had marched by the left, moved parallel, 'at some distance on the right flank of the army; a strong 'rear-guard protected the interval between the columns. By 'this order of march, the whole of the *baggage*, being between

* Colonel Beatson adds, "Subsequently, however, in 1793, during Sir Charles Oakeley's administration, when these defects existed exactly in the same degree as in the month of June 1798, it does not appear that they retarded the expedition against Pondichery, but that with early exertions and ample advances of money, provision of cattle kept pace with the other necessary preparations; since at that time, a very considerable army was not only assembled, but all the guns, stores, and provisions, necessary for the siege, were carried and deposited in camp, before that place, precisely in two months from the date of the resolution of government to attack it."

'two columns, was well secured." But the effect of the *impedimenta* was soon discernible. The first day's march was a troublesome one, the country being somewhat rugged; the rear guard did not arrive till it was dark; many carts with stores and *baggage* were left upon the road; and, a quantity of the public stores not having arrived in the camp, the army was compelled to halt throughout the next day. On the 12th the march was resumed; but "a considerable quantity of powder, shot, and stores not being arrived in camp," the force was halted again on the 13th, on account of the *baggage*.

By the 17th, in spite of every effort to protect the *baggage*, "the loss of powder, shot, and other military stores had already 'been so considerable, as to excite some degree of alarm at this 'early period of the campaign." "These evils," says Colonel Beatson, "were supposed to have originated in a spirit of oppo-'sition among the principal natives employed in the bullock 'department, who were inimical to a system of economy, newly 'adopted, and likely to infringe upon their usual emoluments." Or, as Sir Charles Napier would say, they originated in the want of a baggage corps. Major Dallas, who was agent for the supply of draught and carriage bullocks, and the most important portion of our *impedimenta*, consisting of ordnance stores, "now attach-'ed himself to the battering train with a view to remove those 'obstacles which had hitherto retarded the progress of the army." Matters, however, did not very much improve. The army, with its immense *baggage* and multitude of camp-followers, covered so great a space, that when it came to a defile it was found impossible, if the whole marched at the same time, to accomplish the passage in one day. It therefore marched and encamped in three different divisions, until it was believed that the enemy were near at hand. Subsequently on an occasion, when the Nizam's horse neglected to take up their proper position, the army "was compelled to halt nearly four hours, in order that 'they might pass with their *baggage* in front of our advance, so 'as to gain their proper position on the left flank." "By this unfortunate circumstance," adds Colonel Beatson, "the best 'part of the day was lost; and the army found itself under the 'necessity of taking up its ground only, three miles in front of 'the last encampment."

We need not follow any further in detail the baggage-laden army of Mysore. Some idea of its cumbrous character may be gathered from the statement of Major Price, "that the 'Bombay division (the force under General Stuart) in its utmost 'force, would scarcely suffice as a *baggage* guard to the 'enormous train of artillery, stores, provisions and camp

'equipage, was very obvious; and it was sometimes speculated, 'even at this period, that a well-timed and well-concerted 'attack on our division, thus heavily encumbered, might have 'been attended with consequences too serious to contemplate 'without apprehension."* Our armies, indeed, are often little more than great *baggage* guards. The slow movements of the main army puzzled the Bombay division; but Major Price observes sensibly enough "the consideration of the numerous 'train of ordnance and heavy stores, necessary to the operations 'of an arduous siege, might have been sufficient to account 'for the fact that thirty days were required to accomplish 'what was usually completed in a march of six or eight." "At this period," adds the writer, "the destructive mortality 'which raged among our public cattle, was not less melancholy 'than disgusting to the sense, from the numerous carcases 'strewn about the jungle." And again, "the cattle were 'perishing by hundreds, and the rocky channel of the Cauvery 'was in many places choked with their putrid carcases." Another of the advantages of *baggage!*

Seringapatam was taken on the fourth of May. Before the end of April the price of provisions had risen to such a height that the utmost distress prevailed in camp. Grain had been for some time selling at a rupee eight annas the seer; and ghee was scarcely procurable at seven rupees the seer. "Our camp-followers therefore," says Major Price, "were reduced to great 'distress; and I had no less than thirty-five to provide for, 'besides my bullocks and little charges." But the Bombay division was better supplied than the main army. Price says that the latter had but *two* days' supplies when Seringapatam was taken; and the Bombay troops about *six*.

So much for the *baggage* of the army of Mysore. It took thirty days as we have seen to traverse a distance that might easily have been accomplished in six or eight; but the campaign was described by the historians of the day, and, under all circumstances, deserved to be so described, as "a brilliant and rapid campaign." It was the fault not of Lord Harris, but of the *baggage* that it was not more rapid. An Indian army in those days was at least as cumbrous as in our own—nay, it may be questioned whether it was not more cumbrous. Modern refinement has added little to the appliances of war; and has subtracted something from our oriental luxuriousness. Let

* "Memoirs of a Field officer."—Major Moore, who was Judge Advocate and Persian Interpreter with the Bombay division, says that his camp-followers amounted to thirty-five men of all descriptions, including only two official attendants, a Judge Advocate's clerk, and Persian Munshi.

us see how, a few years later, Lord Lake's army took the field. There is not in all our military histories a more graphic account than the following, which we derive from Major Thorn's memoir, of the march of an Indian army:—

"The better to convey an adequate idea of the nature of Indian warfare, and to show how much depends upon the judgment of a commander placed in very peculiar circumstances, to which previous habits and military experience can hardly afford any rule of conduct, it will be requisite here to give some account of an army in the east, and of the extraordinary elements which contribute to swell its numbers. It is obvious that in a country where no regular supplies can be depended upon, all necessaries must be provided before hand, or obtained from a train of followers whose desire of gain attaches them to the service. Hence the line of march increases these appendages to an army, particularly where an enemy, like the one to whom we were exposed, spreads devastation in every direction for the purpose of cutting off the means of subsistence.

The camp-followers in such a case become exceedingly numerous, and may be fairly estimated at ten persons to every fighting-man; so that where the force consists of ten thousand soldiers, there will be about one hundred thousand non-combatants, consisting of the following descriptions: first, an attendant to every elephant, of which valuable animals there are several hundreds, for carrying the public camp equipage, besides some thousands of camels, to every three of whom there is at least one attendant, with a proportionate number of tent lascars, who, as their appellation imports, are employed in pitching and striking the tents, a service not to be dispensed with, in a country where billetting and quartering are unknown, and where bivouacing under the canopy of Heaven would soon destroy an army, even without an enemy, from the burning power of the sun by day, and the influence of noxious dews by night.

Every horse, whether of the cavalry or not, has, in addition to the rider, for the most part two attendants, one who cleans and takes care of the animal, and is therefore called the horse-keeper, and another denominated the grass-cutter, who gathers forage, consisting of the roots of grass, which he digs up with an iron instrument resembling a mason's trowel. These roots, being carefully washed, constitute an excellent food; and indeed no other could well be obtained in a climate, which during the season when the hot wind prevails, is so completely bare of vegetation that not a single blade can be discerned above the ground, notwithstanding which dreariness we have, by the means here described, been able to preserve all our cattle, when encamped on plains, exhibiting nothing but an interminable waste of sterility.

Besides an immense number of draught bullocks for the use of the artillery, park, and heavy ordnance carts, to every three of which there is at least one driver, large droves of Brinjari bullocks, from eighty to one hundred thousand, are employed in carrying grain.

To these purveyors of the army, as they may be properly called, who, with their connexions, surpass calculation, must be added, in the public department, the palanquin and the dúlie-bearers, a class of persons at all times necessary in this country, and indispensably so, when the fatigues and casualties of war require their assistance for the conveyance of the sick and wounded. An army is farther numerically increased by the servants which every officer is under the necessity of employing to take charge of his live and dead stock, for though the private European soldier receives, besides his

regular allowance of arrack, rations of meat from the Government contractors, who drive large flocks of sheep for that purpose, the officers must provide their own poultry, sheep, and particularly goats, to supply them with milk for their tea, a beverage in this country of the most refreshing nature, especially after a long march. The attendants, therefore, which these services render expedient, may be estimated at ten to a subaltern, twenty to a captain, thirty to a field-officer, and so in proportion. But even the privates themselves are not without their dependants, who contribute to enlarge the population of a camp, there being a cook or bhabaji to every mess, a water carrier or messalji to each tent, in which lie generally ten or twelve soldiers, also a washerman, termed a dhoby, to every troop or company. Such are the immediate adjuncts of a marching force in the east; but even this is not all, for besides the women who follow the fortunes of the officers and private soldiers, there is a mixed multitude of different denominations, termed the bazar people, consisting of merchants and pedlars, with a variety of adventurers of all pursuits, some exercising particular callings, and making themselves useful, while others accompany the army merely with a view to plunder, and yet even these straggling marauders are of material service to the great community upon whom they depend, by searching for the concealed grain, and bringing what they find to market, with other provisions obtained in a similar way, thus preventing the scarcity which might otherwise arise in an exhausted country, where such an enormous consumption must render it every day more difficult to meet the demand.

The march of our army had the appearance of a moving town or citadel, in the form of an oblong square, whose sides were defended by ramparts of glittering swords and bayonets. On one side moved the line of infantry, on the opposite, that of the cavalry, parallel to and preserving its encamping distance as near as possible from the infantry, and keeping the head of the column in a line with the former. The front face was protected by the advanced guard, composed of all the picquets coming on duty, and the rear by all the picquets returning from duty and then forming the rear guard. The parks and columns of artillery moved on in the inside of the square, always keeping the high road, and next to the infantry which moved at a short distance from it. The remainder of the space within the square was occupied by the baggage, cattle, and followers of the camp. Notwithstanding the immense magnitude of this moving mass, and the multifarious elements of which it consisted, nothing could exceed the regularity observed by the troops, in maintaining their respective distances, and adhering closely to the order of formation on the march. The Commander-in-chief, aware how active the numerous cavalry of the enemy would be in hovering continually round, ready to dart in and take advantage of any opening, or improper lengthening out of the line of march, judged it prudent to give the officers a little advice, the excellence of which may recommend it for general adoption, no less than for military operations in India. The officers were enjoined to impress upon their men the necessity of acting in perfect concert, without which, the advantages of discipline would be lost: they were, therefore, cautioned, as they regarded their own personal safety and that of the service, not to be led away by a mistaken and reprehensible ardour to break their ranks, by putting themselves on an equality with an irregular and undisciplined enemy.

The army encamped for the most part in the same order in which it marched; the infantry and cavalry in two lines, facing outwards, thus affording a strong protection to every thing contained in the enclosure. The power of the imagination can scarcely figure to itself the sudden transformation that takes place on those occasions, when an Indian camp

exhibits, with the effect of enchantment, the appearance of a lively and populous city amidst the wilds of solitude, and on a dreary plain. In a short space the rough visage of war is converted to the smiling aspect of peace: the dread of the foe is changed to the reciprocal offices of confidence; and the fatigues of professional duty are forgotten amidst scenes of festivity. Throughout long and regular streets of shops, like the booths at an English fair, may be seen in every direction—all the bustling variety of trade, the relaxation of enjoyment, and the pursuits of pleasure. Here, shroffs or money-changers, are ready with their coin to accommodate those who are unprovided with the currency requisite for the purchase of the necessaries or luxuries of life. In such a situation, where nothing more could be well expected than what serves to alleviate the present cravings of nature, every kind of luxury abounds, and while some shops allure the hungry passenger with boiled or parched rice, others exhibit a profusion of rich viands, with spices, curry materials, and confectionery, for the indulgence of a voluptuous appetite. European merchants, here called sadawkers, either by themselves, or their native agents, are busily employed in vending wines, liquors and groceries; while other traders exhibit for sale fine cloths, muslins, and rich cashmerian shawls. Here also are to be found goldsmiths and jewellers exercising their occupations, and endeavouring to attract the fancy by a display of elegant ornaments, as though war had been deprived of its austerity, or that victory had been already decided. Besides these and various other traffickers, the camp exhibits the singular spectacle of female quacks, who practice cupping, sell drugs, and profess to cure disorders by charms. Nearly allied to these are the jugglers, shewing their dexterity by numerous arts of deception; and to complete the motley assemblage, groups of dancing girls have their allotted station in the bazar. This Cyprian corps is composed of different Indian beauties, from the fair Patan to the copper-coloured Canarese. These last, who joined us with the Bombay force at Bhurtpore, resemble the gypsies both in complexion and manners, leading like them, a wandering life, telling fortunes and singing, their vocal performances being accompanied by an instrument, which, however, is nothing more than a shallow pan of brass, about a foot in diameter, and one or two inches deep, serving the double purpose of cookery and music. When used in the latter capacity, a small piece of cane or split bambú is fastened perpendicularly to the reversed bottom of the pan, which the performer holds steadily between her feet on the ground, while she moves the finger and thumb of each hand with a strong pressure alternately up and down the cane, thus producing a monotonous sound responsive to her voice.

Of the camp itself, and its grotesque appearance, something remains to be observed. Excepting the tents of the military, which are all of a uniform description, and pitched in regular lines, the collection of coverings used by the followers to screen them from the heat of the sun by day, and the dews by night, exhibit a motley variety of colours, materials, and figures, according to the taste or circumstances of individuals. Thus in some places, ragged clothes or blankets are stretched over sticks or branches of trees, and in others, palm leaves are hastily spread out upon similar supports; while handsome tents and splendid canopies are intermixed with asses, oxen, tattús or ponies; which ludicrous contrast becomes more striking from the throngs of camels and elephants making a tinkling sound with the bells which are hung about their necks or legs. To complete which confusion, an endless variety of tongues is heard, English, Hindustani, Persian, Arabic, and a number of provincial dialects altogether forming a scene that may well be compared to the migration from Babel."

Opposed to an army, rendered formidable by the rapidity of its movements, even more than by its gallantry in the field and the skill with which it was regulated and conducted, Lord Lake soon discovered the hampering effects of this immense mass of *baggage* and multitude of camp-followers ; and, whenever it was possible to do so with safety, he shook off his *impedimenta* altogether and led his *expeditas legiones* to the attack. There were disadvantages arising from this course (as for instance, he sometimes captured the enemy's guns, and had no means of carrying them away) ; but these disadvantages were more than counter-balanced by the striking benefits of the rapid movements he was thus enabled to make. Month after month he became more and more sensible of the evils of much *baggage*. The Mahrattas were perpetually coming down upon it, and making great seizures. It was their system of predatory warfare—and very harassing it was. As for poor Colonel Monson, the *baggage* brought all his disasters to the culminating point. It was on that miserable 24th of August, when his principal loss occurred, that the difficulty of getting his *baggage* across the river exposed him so cruelly to the attacks of the enemy, that he was compelled to abandon the greater part of it, and make the best of his way to Khowshalgur. A few days later what remained of it put the finishing stroke to the work of disorganization. " About sunset on the 28th," writes Major Thorn, " the detachment reached ' the Biana pass, where it was the intention of Colonel Monson ' to have halted during the night, on account of the suffering ' state of the troops ; but the enemy bringing up some guns and ' opening a heavy fire, the retreat was continued to the town of ' Biana, where the whole arrived by nine o'clock. Owing how- ' ever, to the extreme darkness of the night, the camp-followers ' *with such of the baggage as remained, became intermixed* ' *with the line in such a manner, as to throw the troops into a* ' *state of confusion, from which it was impossible to recover* ' *them*. In this state of disorder the different corps made the ' best of their way to Agra."

The army under the Commander-in-chief took the field in the middle of September. The further it moved, the more obstructive became the *baggage ;* and the General was fain to rid himself of it by degrees. A large quantity was left at Agra in September. "On the third of October," writes the historian of the campaign, " the enemy, who hung upon our left flank and rear, ' succeeded in carrying off some *baggage*. We halted on the ' fourth, when all the inlying picquets were ordered to Aurunga- ' bad, where a party of convalescent sepoys in charge of one ' hundred camels, with grain for the army coming from Agra, were

'surrounded by a large number of Mahratta horse. Our succours arrived too late: the cattle and grain had all been taken; and the sepoys with the dúlie-bearers, who were sent for the use of our hospital, and had taken refuge in a mud fort, were all carried off to Holkar's camp, previous to the arrival of our troops." These disasters, in the elegant language of Sir Charles Napier, "put the General to his trumps." He could not go on, day after day, dropping fresh instalments of *baggage* into the hands of the enemy, and failing to draw them into an action; so he bethought himself of a better arrangement of his line, and, on the 12th, marched from Muttra, "the cavalry leading, followed by the infantry," *(primi equites, inde pedites)* "thus opposing an impervious line of swords and bayonets to the inroads of the enemy upon our *baggage* and bazaars, which moved along our inner flank and the river Jumna." "This judicious arrangement," adds Major Thorn, "was our constant order of proceeding, and we thereby effectually prevented any further depredations."

Still there was too much *baggage*, and General Lake wisely determined to disencumber himself of as much more, as he could with safety leave behind. "Early in the morning of the nineteenth, the whole army was in readiness to set out in pursuit of Holkar's brigades and guns; half of the camp equipage, public as well as private, having been sent into Delhi the evening before the better to facilitate our march." And again, on the 31st: "Orders were given to move as light as possible; on which account no private wheel carriages were allowed. The officers and soldiers doubling up in their tents, considerably lessened our baggage; and, to reduce still further the numbers of public cattle an issue of six pounds of flour was gratuitously made to every fighting-man and public servant, which was to last them six days, and be carried by themselves. This mode of carriage was often repeated, being found very beneficial to the service without incurring additional expense: for the price of the flour was easily cleared from the savings in the reduced number of cattle required to carry the grain." On the 16th of November, the army thus lightened had nearly come up with Holkar's, and Lake then determined to push on "without tents or *baggage* of any kind." They marched all night, under the cheerful influence of a bright moon; and, on the following morning, came up with the enemy near Furruckabad. The result is well known. Holkar was soon in full flight; and the British troops in hot pursuit of the fugitive. In four and twenty hours Lake had covered upwards of seventy miles of ground. Holkar is said to have lost three thousand men, left dead upon the field, whilst the victory cost the British but *two* dragoons.

• These examples will suffice to show what it was Sir Charles Napier had read of in history, before he came amongst us to command an army in the field. The heroes of the old times took even more baggage into the field than our cotemporaries, and managed it a trifle worse. Each in turn was wiser at the end of a campaign, than at the beginning; but not one of them turned to much account the experience of his predecessors. We generally in such cases like to learn the lesson for ourselves; we must have our own mischances and miscarriages; we seldom grow wise upon the misfortunes of our neighbours. The heritage of experience left by our predecessors we are rarely willing to accept; and so we are constantly beginning again,—constantly travelling over the old ground; making the same mistakes, falling into the same difficulties, sustaining the same disasters. We do not know what it is to "improve the occasion" either in precept or in practice. When a campaign is over, we take little heed of the lessons it has taught us; we have done with the subject for the time; "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof;" we cannot trouble ourselves about future contingencies. And so for three quarters of a century has King Baggage been allowed to rule our Indian army; and no one has had the heroism to depose the tyrant, or even to attempt it, until Sir Charles Napier came forward, with his second flannel waistcoat and his piece of soap, to play the part of the regicide. How he has striven to achieve this great work we now purpose to show.

On seeing General England's *baggage* sprawling into Sukkur, the following reflections forced themselves on Sir Charles Napier's mind:—

1st. That an Indian army requires more baggage than any other army in the world.

2nd. That the Europeans of an Indian army require more baggage than any other part of that army.

3rd. That the officers carry a great deal more baggage than is necessary, and that the private sepoys comparatively collect more than the officers.

4th. That as the climate renders a great deal of baggage necessary, care must be taken that, in a zeal to reduce the quantity of this great impediment to war, we do not over-reduce and create suffering. The line which divides *necessaries* from *luxuries* must be drawn with much care; for in India luxuries and necessaries are near akin, especially among the Europeans.

5th. That the baggage allowed in war should be much less than that allowed in peace.

6th. That all private baggage should be carried by the public."

A great deal of this no one would think of questioning. What the baggage of an Indian army is we have shown. A large

portion of it is necessary *baggage*; some portion of it is luxurious *baggage*. "In India," says Sir Charles Napier, "luxuries and necessaries are near akin." And yet he seems by no means inclined to allow any very large margin.

In the latter, "What does an officer want?" he asks. "His 'tent, his bed, a canteen, a second pair of breeches, a second pair 'of shoes, half a dozen shirts, a second flannel waistcoat, a 'couple of towels, and a piece of soap; all beyond is mere 'luxury, and not fit for a campaign. His regimentals he carries 'on his back. An Indian campaign lasts five months." So, albeit luxuries and necessaries are so near akin in India, this scanty supply, the piece of soap and the "wash-and-wear," flannel waistcoats included, is the full allowance of necessaries for a five months' campaign. Beer and wine are prescribed as unsoldierly things; but a little brandy is allowed. A letter from Major McPherson is quoted, relative to the *baggage* of Sir Charles and himself on the trip to Emaumghur:—

Chatham, February 2, 1819.

"My dear Sir Charles,—I have just received your's of yesterday, and hasten to answer it. We had but *three* camels between us on our trip to Emaumghur, and with light loads, as we each only had one bullock trunk and our bedding, with a camp table and two chairs, and canteen, and a captain's servant's routee tent, with some *beer*, *wine*, and brandy. We went nearly in the old Peninsula style.

Believe me, my dear Sir Charles,
Your's very sincerely,
P. McPherson."

To the Sybaritish words *beer* and *wine* Sir Charles has appended a note, expressive of shame and contrition. "More shame for us! what have soldiers to do with beer and wine on a campaign!" They have nothing to do with it but to *drink* it, we believe. But this Sir Charles does not think allowable. For brandy, however, he has some toleration. It is the drink of heroes. "Claret for boys—port for men—but he, who aspires to be a hero, *must drink brandy*." Therefore, brandy, with the sanction of this heroic aphorism, is permitted upon a campaign; but wine and beer are unsoldierly luxuries, even in a country where luxuries and necessaries are so near akin.

They thought differently in the degenerate days of Lake and Wellesley. It is believed that even now the name of the former is dear to the sepoy, and that the latter is not yet forgotten by the British soldier. But there were sad Sybaritish doings in the army, which took the field against the Mahrattas at the beginning of the present century—and it is hard to say what "Lake Sahib" has not to answer for, after half-a-century, to his

latest successor. Major Thorn has given us a picture of the luxuries of the "grand army" of that unmilitary epoch, at the contemplation of which our present Commander-in-chief will stand aghast with dismay, or sink overwhelmed with shame for his effeminate predecessors:—"Whilst we lay in this agreeable 'situation," he writes, "between the twenty-seventh and twenty-'eighth degrees of north latitude, military occupations were so 'diversified with the scenes of social harmony and festivity, as 'to exhibit the confidence of tranquil satisfaction in the pros-'pect of permanent peace, rather than the preparations for war. 'The heat of the day was moderate, but the nights were cold: 'and many officers had not only glass doors to their tents, but 'chimneys of brick, by which means they were enabled to enjoy 'the pleasures of an English fire-side with their wives and fami-'lies, who had been allowed to accompany them on this occa-'sion. These domestic comforts were heightened *by the luxu-'ries of the table, where the finest wines of every clime, from the 'exhilarating Shiraz of Persia to the ruby Carbonell and 'humble Port, abounded.* In the evenings the spacious ball-'room, fitted up for the purpose, displayed an elegant as-'semblage of youth and beauty, grace and hilarity, soften-'ing the cares of life, and removing every apprehension 'of danger." Softening, indeed! Look on this picture and on that;—the ball-room, the glass windows, the Shiraz and Carbonell on one side; and the servant's tent, the two flannel waistcoats, the piece of soap, and the heroic brandy, on the other! Well may Sir Charles Napier ask, what have soldiers to do with beer and wine on a campaign? *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona,* we once thought, but now we find that they were only "Sybarites."

"That the officers carry"—or have on some campaigns carried, "a great deal more baggage than is necessary" and taken more servants, few officers will deny. "I will state one more evil," says Sir Charles, in another part of his pamphlet—the evil, however, having been previously stated, "one more evil 'that the commander has to contend against in the matter of 'baggage. Almost every officer tries to bring into the field as 'many animals and as much baggage as he can afford. I heard 'from a very high authority in India that, on one occasion, when 'a reduction of baggage was ordered, one officer sent in his list 'for *sixty servants, as the least number which he required,* and 'this on active service! In short the European reader, who has 'not been in India, will scarcely believe in the unmilitary luxury 'of the east." It would have been well if the rank of this officer had been stated. Major Price says that, in the second Mysore

war, he took thirty-five servants with him, and does not speak of the number as anything unusual. Cattle were taken in proportion. Sir Charles Napier says, that no regimental officer should require more than three camels. "When I took the field," he says, "in the hill campaign against the robber tribes, I had 'but five camels. I was then not merely commander of the 'forces, but also Governor; and one camel out of the five was 'loaded entirely with official documents, stationery, maps, books, 'and correspondence, civil and military. If I could do this, (and 'on the march to Emaumghur in 1843, I and my aid-de-camp 'had but three camels between us!) a regimental officer can do 'with three camels, whatever be his rank." What the three camels carried, Major McPherson's letter above quoted declares. When General Pollock moved from Jellalabad to Cabul, in 1842, at the head of the Army of Retribution, *he* had but three camels. Before leaving Peshawur, he had issued an order exhorting all officers to move as lightly as possible. There are portions of it worth quoting. After speaking of the gallant defence of Jellalabad by Sir Robert Sale, and the probability of an immediate advance to the relief of that garrison, the order proceeds in this soldierly strain—"Success in relieving these troops 'will raise for this force the admiration and gratitude of all 'India, and the Major General commanding feels assured that 'officers and men will cheerfully make any sacrifices to attain so 'noble an object. He therefore now calls upon the Brigadiers 'to assemble the commanding officers under their orders, *and* '*determine on the least quantity of baggage and the smallest* '*number of camp-followers, with which their regiments can ad-*'*vance. The success of this enterprise will greatly depend upon* '*the quantity of baggage taken,* as from the nature of the country 'between Peshawur and Jellalabad, the line most consistent with 'safety must be as little encumbered as possible. The Major-'General commanding trusts that the confidence he feels in the 'troops will be repaid by their confidence in him. The soldiers 'may rest assured, that his thoughts are constantly engaged 'in ensuring them provisions, and securing their comforts, and 'they may be convinced they will never be called upon by him 'to make useless sacrifices, or to undergo unnecessary hardships. 'Arrangements will be made for placing such baggage as may 'be left behind in perfect security at Peshawur." When the force moved through the Khybur to Ali-Musjid, in spite of the difficulties of the country and the nature of the enemy, ***not a single baggage animal was lost.***

A more recent illustrative example is supplied by the events of the last campaign in the Punjab. When in February last,

Lord Gough moved upon Goojrat, a few days before the great action of the 21st, he shook off the greater part of his baggage, and pushed on, *expeditis legionibus*, to give battle to the enemy. "The very desirable arrangements," says a cotemporary annalist, "of reducing camp equipage and followers, were entered into 'con amore,—the Commander-in-chief setting the laudable example of confining himself to one small tent, and only the 'servants he absolutely required, as well as by sending in all 'the records of the several departments, and therefore calling 'upon every one, with a safe conscience, to double up two 'officers in one tent, and to send back all unnecessary baggage, 'and all servants whose presence was not urgent. The reduction thus effected is said to have been enormous, involving 'carriage to the amount of 7,000 or 8,000 camels. It was also 'arranged that the camp should thenceforth move with rations 'for five days only, and everything else was made proportionately snug."* Such appeals as these are never made to British officers in vain. When Lord Cornwallis first advanced into the Mysore country, he was compelled not only to induce the officers to leave behind as much of their private *baggage*, but to carry as much of the public stores, as possible. "Almost every officer," writes Sir Thomas Munro, "who was with the force, carried at his own expence two or three bullock-loads of shot and shell."

"The private sepoys," says Sir Charles Napier, "comparatively collect more *(baggage)* than the officers;" and this we believe to be correct. The sepoys require delicate handling on service. It is not always safe to curtail their comforts in the field. They require, when the reduction system is to be carried out, to be humored and coaxed a little. They in many respects resemble children, and like children they are readily offended and easily pleased. A wise General will treat them as his children, and gain his point by trifling concessions. Thus when General Pollock advanced on Cabul, in 1842, and it was not only advisable but necessary to move lightly, (for carriage was scarce), he caused it to be explained to the native troops, that under such circumstances each regiment must move with only half its complement of tents. When the arrangements for the advance were made, he gave to each company as many camels as could be spared to carry sepoys' "traps;" and as in the first instance they had cheerfully acquiesced in the reduction of their tent equipage, so they appreciated the regard which was evinced for their comfort in smaller matters. Judicious explanations will go a long

* *Delhi Gazette*, February 24.

way with the sepoy, and if they be accompanied by some trifling concessions of this nature—no matter how small, so that they evince the paternal regard and consideration of his commanding officer,—he will submit cheerfully in the field to any hardship and privations that the exigencies of the service may call upon him to endure.

After stating that war *baggage* should be much less than peace *baggage*, which is one of the "incontrovertibles," Sir Charles comes at once to the conclusion that "all private baggage ought to be carried by the public. Because," he says, "an officer, 'who is allowed money by the public to provide his own means 'of carrying his baggage, may lose his animals without any fault 'of his own, or of his servants. Now, if he be only allowed by 'regulation to furnish himself with a stated number of animals, '—a number that is barely sufficient to carry what is necessary 'to his health and efficiency (and more on service no regulation 'ought to permit)—if any of this regulated number of beasts 'fail, he loses that baggage which is *necessary*, and conse-'quently *his* services may be lost also—at all events he is doom-'ed to endure serious suffering. I say, therefore, that 'carri-'age' should be provided by the public for private baggage, 'as well as for the public baggage of an army; and no private '"carriage" should be allowed in the field. By this arrange-'ment no officer can lose his baggage in the ordinary course of 'things, for if a camel fails, another is at once supplied by the 'public, because, with every force in the field, there are animals 'to spare and ready to furnish assistance on an emergency."

All this is neither very clear nor very conclusive. If the only reason for supplying public carriage for private purposes be, that officers may lose the cattle they have bought or hired, we fear that Sir Charles's case is not a very good one. Baggage-cattle, public or private, will die; and officers must either replace the cattle they lose, or leave their *baggage* behind. But it does not follow that private losses are irreparable—that cattle hired by individuals are not to be replaced, if they fail by the way. Extraordinary circumstances may bring about a scarcity of carriage in camp; but such circumstances may arise under the system advocated by Sir Charles Napier; and, under ordinary circumstances, there is, during the progress of a campaign, such a diminution, by consumption and otherwise, of the stuff to be carried, as will constantly place spare camels at the disposal of individuals. We doubt whether a Government monopoly of the carriage with a force would place it beyond the reach of the accidents to which Sir Charles Napier alludes; though as the camels would be better treated, there might be a greater certainty

of supply than under the free-trade system. The advantages of public carriage, it seems to us, must be sought elsewhere.

Sir Charles Napier's pamphlet, like his subject, is a little sprawling; and we do not find it very easy to follow the *argument* of it. The descriptive passages are numerous, and there is so much graphic fidelity in them, that, but for the conviction that the "letter" itself will be extensively read throughout the country, before this number of our journal passes into the hands of its readers, we should now offer some amusing specimens of the writer's dashing, forcible, style of illustration. There is, as might be expected, a little exaggeration. For example, in the chapter on the "quantity, character, and inconvenience of Indian baggage in its present state," Sir Charles Napier says, "let us 'suppose our baggage to require 20,000 camels. That, being 'led, as is the usual way in the east, by a string fastened through 'the nostril of one animal and tied to the tail of his leader, 'these 20,000 *camels occupy about fifty miles;* allowing five 'yards from the nose of one animal to the nose of his follower; 'and consequently half the camels would not have quitted the 'old camp from which the army marched, when the leading 'camels had arrived on the new encamping ground." This calculation is only fit for the marines. Indeed, the gallant writer himself thinks it necessary, for his credit's sake, to add that the baggage does *not* march in this regular train: but the passage has been quoted in England without the qualification which follows it; and is very likely to mislead the home-staying, inexperienced reader. For our own parts we do not see the use of a computation, which illustrates no actual condition of things, but is at best a rather absurd hypothesis. We might as well compute the ground occupied by an army on the march, spun out, after this fashion, with the nose of every horse at the tail of his leader, and the bayonet point of every soldier at the breech of his predecessor.

Still the *baggage* is immense; and the disadvantage to the General is immense. *That* we have pretty well demonstrated, upon the authority of other writers. Now in place of all this private *baggage*, Sir Charles Napier would give us a well-organised *Baggage-Corps*. The principal conditions, which such an establishment should fulfil, are that it should enable us to take the field more expeditiously than under the present system; and that it should occupy less space and be more manageable upon the line of march, especially when our armies are brought into actual collision with the enemy. Sir Charles Napier's pamphlet would have been more valuable, if there had been a little more close reasoning on all these important points, and less discur-

sive matter, however amusing it may be. The "Letter to Sir John Hobhouse" is obviously a very hasty production. The materials for an excellent treatise on *baggage* are there; but they want order and arrangement; and in their present shape are rather distracting than convincing. The writer has not made the most of his subject. He has merely touched upon points which he might advantageously have elaborated; and sent to the rear much serviceable matter which we would fain have seen in the front.

We have been ourselves straggling about a little after Sir Charles, though doing our best to follow out something like system in this article. But, if we are not more strict, we shall leave our paper a mere inconsequential fragment, without shape and proportion. What we propose to ourselves is, now that we have amply demonstrated the disadvantages of the old system, to investigate, in accordance with the conditions briefly stated above, the alleged advantages of that advocated by Sir Charles Napier; and then briefly to enquire into the probable inconveniences of the change.

Firstly then, under the new system an army should be enabled to take the field more expeditiously than under the old. We all know what a tedious matter it is to get a force ready for service; we all know what are the difficulties, what are the delays, that neutralize the highest courage, paralyse the greatest energy, and render useless the finest military skill. We have on more than one occasion commented on this defect in our military system, and cited numerous illustrative examples, which must be familiar to our readers, and therefore need not repetition. Now, if not the only source of delay, the difficulty of obtaining carriage is the main cause of the tardiness with which our preparations are made for active service. After the necessity for immediate action has arisen, we have to form our establishments. We are never ready to take the field. A crisis arises, and we are at our wit's end for the means of setting a force in motion. Camels are to be got; and camel drivers are to be got. There is a memorandum by the Duke of Wellington on the subject, which is worth giving, because it is *his*, though there is nothing in it of a very novel and striking character. It is contained in a letter to Lord Fitzgerald, relative to the despatch of reinforcements to India in 1842, which we believe has not been published:—

"To render an army effective, or otherwise than a useless burden, it must be able to move, and must have means of conveyance for its provisions, stores, and equipments—such as camels, horses, mules, bullocks, or carts drawn by any of the three latter. See Sir Robert Sale's difficulties at Jellalabad. He was strong enough to hold his post, but he could not march to

the assistance of Cabul. We had no conveyance at Cabul. Indeed the distress at Cabul was owing to the loss of all the means of conveyance, want of forage, and consequent inability to move.

Then see upon what the means of conveyance depend; not upon having the animals alone, but there must likewise be people to take care of, and drive, them. At Peshawur, it appears by the papers which I read last night, that they have camels, but no surwans, or camel drivers. The owners would not let them on hire with their drivers; to buy them would have been useless, as the public department had not people to take care of, and drive them.

All this is unintelligible in a country like this, in which fortunately the difference between an army and a fleet is not very accurately known and felt.

But this is the case; and the knowledge, that it is so, will point out the difficulty here, to what point in the East Indies these reinforcements ought to be sent.

Wherever each detachment of them goes, it must be to join another corps, and to perform certain fixed operations, by movements for which previous preparation must be made by having further means of conveyance. *London, March* 16, 1842."

Now albeit there is nothing very novel in this, it is a very fair statement of the case. To meet the difficulties here set forth we must have a *baggage* establishment—cattle and drivers both ever ready to take the field. Now Sir Charles Napier's plan scarcely goes as far as this. He says that in peace we may dismiss the cattle, but keep the drivers, whom he would arm and drill, as garrison troops. This is a compromise on the score of expence; it reduces the scheme to one-half of its natural proportions, and curtails it of half its utility. The events of the last ten or twelve years have sufficiently taught us, that in India we never know when we *are* at peace. "The power," says Sir Chas. Napier, "to move a detachment suddenly and rapidly is especially required in India, where *some robber* gets up from time to time, and with his followers defies the Government for months." It has not exactly been a case of "some robber" lately,—but it is very certain, that we have found ourselves in the midst of war at seasons, to which we had looked forward with confidence, as seasons of profound peace. To have at certain stations a baggage establishment complete in all its components, ready to take the field in any sudden emergency, would, unquestionably, strengthen the government of the country, and, in the end, we believe, be a saving of expence. But a *baggage* corps, without *baggage* cattle, would be a poor compromise; and would not have the desired effect of enabling an army to take the field, without the embarrassing delays, which are now so fatal to us, and so advantageous to our enemies. The difficulty is a somewhat perplexing one. We must run the risk either of keeping up at an enormous cost an establishment, for which there may be no

demand, or of not having it available when it is most wanted. Our system hitherto, has been to have nothing ready—neither ordinary carriage, nor ammunition, nor cattle for our guns; hence, when danger has arisen, everything has been done hastily, and nothing has been done well. The system, intended to be an economical one, has not in result proved economical. An inefficient establishment is always an expensive one; and ill-timed reductions are ruinous. It would be hard to calculate the sums we have sacrificed, from time to time, by dispensing with everything that "may not be wanted," and eternally remedying defects, and repairing omissions, which ought never to have been suffered to exist. It is the "penny wise, pound foolish" system, that so impoverishes us. We pay dearly for our parsimony in the end:—but with a failing exchequer how can we help ourselves?

Sir Charles Napier settles the question in his usual dashing manner. He says "the objection that this corps would be *costly* is not the truth, and contemptible if it were true:" with this, we leave for the present the matter of finance, and proceed with our illustrations of the advantages of the proposed system. That an organised *baggage* train, such as is here advocated, would cover less space and be more manageable on the march, than the old disorganised masses of free-trade *baggage*, cattle and unlimited camp-followers, is a truism which will pass current all over the world. We have no sort of doubt that a *baggage* corps would fulfil this condition. By means of such a public establishment the actual amount of *baggage* would be reduced, and the quantity taken would relatively be compressed into a smaller space. There are, and have long been, regulations limiting the number of private cattle allowed in the field; but it is doubtful whether these regulations have been very strictly observed. Where no private cattle are allowed to be taken into the field, but all animals are supplied from the public department, the strictest conformity with the regulations may be insured. There would be no room for inclination to disport itself—no room for the gratification of foolish caprice, or the indulgence of luxurious habits. Every one would be compelled to move "Peninsula fashion;" and the General would be pretty well able to estimate the number of cattle in his camp. Then, the *baggage* animals, if not regularly instructed themselves (which they would be, if forming part of a permanent establishment; like our gun bullocks, who know the words of command almost as well as their drivers), will have regularly instructed attendants. Instead of sprawling about here, there, and everywhere, they "fall in" as Sir Charles Napier writes "with regularity; they form in line,

'in column, or files, as the nature of the case admits; that is to 'say, they manœuvre, they are manageable, they obey a word of 'command; and all obstacles on the line of march are then 'passed with the greatest rapidity that the case admits of, because 'passed with regularity and with care." In a word the *baggage* is in *hand*. It is compressible within certain limits. It is a part of the army, and a manageable part of the army. There are responsibilities, where before all was irresponsible; public duties, where before was only private choice; discipline, where once was disorder; and something of *esprit-de-corps* in places where before "every man for himself" was the recognised maxim and rule of conduct. Sir Charles Napier proposes to turn the cattle-drivers into regular fighting men. "The *baggage* corps-private" he says "is not only a fighting-'man, but one entrusted with valuable property, for which he is 'responsible; he has higher duties, if possible, than any other 'soldier, and those duties are also of a nature, which requires 'more experience and reflection, than an ordinary infantry 'soldier." When the *baggage* is attacked, the camels are to be made to kneel, forming square; the beasts are thus turned into something of a breast-work, and the drivers are to fire from behind the fortification of carcases thus suddenly erected. Then the camp-followers are to support the *baggage* men; and officer's servants are to use their master's double-barrelled guns;—an arrangement, to which some officers, with an ardent affection for their particular Joe Mantons, will incontinently demur—though Sir Charles should book them as "Sybarites."

All this is great gain doubtless; but we incline to think that the most important considerations yet remain unstated. If we were to ask all the general officers, who have commanded important expeditions, now living—and conjure up the shades of departed heroes to interrogate them also—what has hampered and embarrassed them most on the march? we should be told, in all probability, "the desertion of camel-drivers; the mortality and sickness among the camels." By sickness we must be understood to mean all incapacitating causes, stopping short of the actual destruction of life. If not properly loaded, and properly tended, they are pretty sure, after a little service, to be lamed, or galled, or jaded, past present work, and, probably, future recovery. Under the present system, the unhappy animals are overloaded and underfed. They are taxed to the utmost on one hand, and defrauded of their provender on the other. The liberal supply of gram, ostensibly allowed them on the march, does not always find its way down their long shapeless throats. The temptation of an occasional fraud, at the expense of the uncomplaining

cattle, is too great to be resisted.* No wonder that we hear of large fortunes made by gomashtahs, and of large sums being offered for the management of so profitable a department. There was a gomashtah in General Pollock's camp, who offered two lakhs of rupees for the entire native controul; and that too at a time when it was believed that the army would be withdrawn. To secure the proper treatment of the *baggage* cattle would be great gain to a military commander. He is constantly annoyed and embarrassed by the reports of animals dying or failing by hundreds: over-loading and careless loading have so galled them and weakened them, that they are quite unfit to carry their burdens. After a long march it is difficult to find any serviceable camels. When General Pollock and General Nott met at Cabul, in September 1842, the former, who had been all along straitened for carriage, received 500 camels from General Nott's camp. A committee was held upon them, and they were every one condemned. Of the number, 367 were reported "galled on the back;" 129 "weak and sick;" one was lame; and the other three had died before the survey was held. On the return march, the force was subjected to every conceivable kind of annoyance, by the incessant failures of the cattle. Here is an extract from a letter, which sets forth *in petto* some of the principal inconveniences resulting from these disasters. Perhaps, it is as good an illustration as we could possibly select out of a vast number of examples that might readily be cited. The writer is the late lamented Major Broadfoot:—

"I have the honor to report that, from the number of camels that 'have died or become unserviceable, we have been obliged to 'leave behind twenty-five loads of camp equipage, tools, and am-'munition. The twelve camels, furnished by order of the Major 'General after we left Peshawur, to bring out our sick, were nearly 'twelve hours in making their first march, and arrived so sick 'as not to be again fit to load. They died in a few days after-'wards. This compelled us to take *baggage* cattle from the 'sepoys for the sick, and thus we increased the loads on the rest. The result need not be more than indicated;—baggage abandoned—the sick distressed by long and painful marches—the sepoys deprived of their carriage—and every one in camp wearied, harrassed, and annoyed. These are the immediate consequences of the neglect and ill treatment, to which under the present irresponsible system, our baggage cattle are exposed.

* To cheat a batch of 3,000 camels of their day's gram (three seers each) is to pocket (at the rate of sixteen seers the rupee) fifty pounds in English money. Sir Charles Napier talks of a string of 20,000 camels. Think of the temptation!

"The after results," as Major Broadfoot says, "need not be more than indicated."

Now, there is no doubt, that under the system proposed by Sir Charles Napier, there would be less risk of our cattle being ill-treated on the march; indeed, we may say that they would not be ill-treated at all. They would get their legitimate quantity of food, and no more than their legitimate quantity of *baggage*. There would be no underfeeding and over-loading. Sir Charles Napier sets down the weight that may fairly be put on a camel's back at from 300 to 400 lb., according to the nature of the goods to be carried. Officers commanding corps are to be responsible for all excesses:* and the officers of the baggage corps are expected to report every case of ascertained over-loading. The men of the corps, being regularly trained to their work, and occupying a recognized and responsible position in the army, will load and unload their beasts with greater care, thus preventing, in a great measure, the ever-recurring evil of the sore back. The camels would be fed under proper European superintendences; and there would be no native contracts. Thus the good treatment of the cattle would be ensured. There would be an immense gain in the efficiency of the beasts, an enormous saving of brute life, and a general improvement, both in the comfort of the troops, and the discipline of the army.

The evil of the desertion of camel-drivers is still more glaring, and the remedy more secure. "It cannot be expected," says Sir Charles Napier, "that men who are hired by the day will 'risk their lives for their employers. Such devotion can only 'be demanded from *soldiers*, from men who are drilled, disci-'plined, paid, clothed, fed;—men, who have a moral spirit 'instilled into them; and even thus human nature makes a 'severe sacrifice." Illustrative examples of the little reliance to be placed in the common surwans of the country might be cited by scores. Before the battle of Hyderabad, 200 camel-drivers deserted from Sir Charles Napier's force; in the subsequent hill campaign in Scinde, five hundred deserted with their camels. The camel-drivers with Colonel Wallace's force, in 1842, declared positively they would not move to the southward. "Every means was used to persuade them to go," wrote the gallant Colonel to Sir Charles Napier, "but as yet it has been of no avail." At the same time General Pollock was encountering

* Sir Charles Napier's regulations for the management of the Scinde baggage-corps were sufficiently stringent. "All camels which may be injured by being overloaded are to be given up to the commanding officer of the corps, who is to be charged with the value paid for the animal." "All baggage, found to be above the proper weight, is to be burned on the spot," &c &c.

similar difficulties to the eastward. The camel-drivers had, naturally enough, a lively horror of the passes of Affghanistan, and turned sick at the sight of the Indus. A large party, with an important convoy, despatched with stores for the force, deserted bodily at Attock, early in June; an event, which, at that critical period, gave great annoyance to Lord Ellenborough. Many other instances might be quoted. Now, the establishment of a *baggage-corps* would almost entirely suppress this evil of desertion. Deserters would be tried like any other deserters, and punished accordingly. There would be more, too, than the fear of punishment to keep them faithful. They would be numbered among the pension-earning troops of the company; and would be fortified by this consideration, against many of those fears which naturally beset the common camel-drivers, who are exposed to all the dangers of war, and have no claim upon the Company, as regular servants of the state.

There is an incidental advantage arising from this scheme which we must not omit to notice. We have shown that Sir Charles Napier's *baggage* corps is a corps at once of drivers and of soldiers, capable not only of defending the cattle on the march, but also, when the march is over, and the animals are sent out to graze. Thus the regular troops are spared a very harrassing and unpopular duty. Under the old system, when the *baggage* comes up, and the tents are pitched, detachments are sent out as "grazing guards" to take charge of the camels. "Now," writes Sir Charles Napier, "he has to pitch his tent, 'and many have also to take what are called '*grazing guards*, 'that is to say, guards to follow the camels out to graze, when 'unloaded. Their grazing ground may be one, or two, or 'more miles distant; and thus European soldiers, as well as 'natives, are kept out all day in the sun." Now, the men of the *baggage* corps, being armed and drilled, will be capable of defending their own cattle; so that the services of the regular troops will never be indented upon for this unpleasant and inglorious duty. Moreover they will have greater controul over the animals at grazing time than under the present system, and be able, in an emergency, to collect them, and equip them for movement, with greater expedition.* This promptitude and regularity of movement constitute, perhaps, the greatest of all the advantages of the proposed establishment. The *baggage* corps keeps pace with the other components of the army, comes

* An instance of the delay in collecting the carriage-cattle, when out on their grazing grounds, and the necessary postponement of the movement of troops, which occurred with Lord Gough's Army in February last, will be fresh in the recollection of our readers.

up to the encamping ground at the same time with the troops, and enables the weary soldier to make himself comfortable under canvas, before the heat of the day comes on to distress him. These are benefits too obvious to require that we should do more than briefly allude to them.

We consider that a very strong case has been made out by Sir Charles Napier, in favor of the organisation of military *baggage*. He does not write merely as a theorist. The plan has been fairly tried in Scinde, and Sir Charles bears unequivocal testimony to its success. A little allowance must, doubtless, be made for parental partiality on the one side, and for descriptive exaggeration on the other; but still, after all abatements, there remains enough to convince us, that the application of the system advocated to the Indian armies would greatly increase our military strength. As a mere *military* question indeed, it is one which admits of very little discussion. The objections are almost entirely of a financial character, and these, whatever Sir Charles Napier may determine, or whatever we may think about the matter, are likely to have no little weight in more influential quarters. Some apprehension, too, may perhaps be entertained, lest the establishment of regular *baggage* corps should be regarded as a pretext for the reduction of officers' allowances in the field, if not for some interference with the pay of the men; and we need not say that the advantages of the system would be purchased too dearly at that cost.

Such apprehensions, however, would be based upon mere conjecture, and the conjecture might be a very groundless one. Still the financial difficulty would remain. We entirely think, with Sir Charles Napier, that the change would ultimately be an economical one; but it is the curse of embarrassed circumstances, public as well as private, that one cannot afford to economise. Gentlemen in difficulties cannot live cheaply, like those who have the command of ready cash. Poverty is very expensive. We must pay heavily for the misfortune of empty pockets. It is of little use to press far-reaching schemes of economy upon men who have immediate difficulties to encounter, who must struggle hard with the present, and leave the future to take its chance. The 'penny wise, pound foolish' system is a very bad one; but people in embarassed circumstances are compelled to be 'penny wise and pound foolish." They must look for present, not for prospective, advantages. They must sacrifice the hopes of to-morrow to the necessities of to-day. So it is with governing bodies: so it, especially, is with the East India Company at the present time. In the existing state of their finances, they can only economise on a small scale. It is of little

use to say to them, "It will be cheaper in the end." They must think of what is cheapest in the beginning. It is not their fault, but the evil of their position. The wars, which have emptied their treasury, have not been of their seeking. The acquisitions of territory, which have helped and will help to keep it empty, have not been of their coveting. They did not want Scinde. They did not want the Punjab. The Company have grown poorer, as their dominions have extended; they are dying of a plethora even now, and if the Punjab does not evolve the fatal crisis, it is only because there is extraordinary vitality in the body. "Another such victory will undo us," writes Sir Charles Napier, quoting Pyrrhus at Asculum, with reference to Ferozshahur and Sobraon. "Another such acquisition as Scinde, and we are undone," might well be added. We cannot go on for ever gaining losses of this kind. The hour of bankruptcy must inevitably come.

But the financial difficulty, in such a case as this, is more than an ordinary difficulty. A change of this kind, involving considerable outlay (however remunerative it may be "in the end"), demands, for the reasons above stated, an improving condition of the exchequer, which improvement can only be looked for in a season of profound peace. But a season of profound peace is the last season, in which any arguments for the extension and amelioration of our military system are likely to find acceptance in the high places of government. So that the case appears to be simply this. In war they can't do it; and in peace, they wont. Either condition is fatal to such a reform. *Utrum horum mavis accipe.* In either case, there does not seem a chance for it.

A few more words on a detached passage or two of the pamphlet before us, and we have done:—"There are," says Sir Charles Napier, "but five months in which war can be made by 'Europeans, *in that part of India, which I have seen*, viz. 'December, January, February, March and April. To attempt 'it in the hot weather is only excusable, when danger forces 'a General to this sad alternative." This passage has been much commented upon by the home journals, without reference to the qualifying words, which we have indicated by italics. But it is only lately, that in our Indian warfare we have thought so much of times and seasons. Some of our greatest military operations, in old times, were carried on in the impossible months between April and December. Plassy was fought in June. During Lord Wellesley's administration, our greatest battles were fought out of season. Lord Harris's army was out in Mysore all through the hot weather; commencing its march about the end

of February, and capturing Seringapatam in May. Lord Lake and Wellesley fought still later in the year. Allyghur was taken on the 4th of September; the battle of Delhi was fought on the 11th of September; and Wellesley beat the Mahrattas at Assye on the 23d of the same impracticable month. The specification does not appear to be very felicitous—for we imagine there are uncommonly few parts of India, in which an European army may not move more safely in November than in April. There is not, perhaps, in most parts of India a worse month in the whole year than April. Lord Cornwallis, during his first unsuccessful campaign in Mysore, was out in April and May, and the troops, man and beast, of all kinds, suffered severely from the effects of the climate. Lord Lake's army was out in April and May; and its sufferings under the scorching influence of the hot winds of the Upper Provinces were intense. Major Thorn, in the well-known narrative, which we have already quoted, gives a terrible picture of the condition of the army at this time:—

"Young men, who set out in the morning, full of spirits and in 'all the vigour of health, dropped dead immediately on reaching 'the encampment ground, and many were smitten on the road 'by the overpowering heat of the sun, especially when at the 'meridian,—the rays darting downwards like a torrent of fire, 'under which many brave and athletic men fell, without the pos-'sibility of receiving any relief. They, who were thus struck, 'suddenly turned giddy, foamed at the mouth, and instanta-'neously became lifeless. Even when encamped, the sufferings 'of the soldiers were excruciating; for the tents in general were 'ill-adapted to afford shelter against the solar heat at this sea-'son, when the thermometer in the shade frequently exceeded 'one hundred and thirty degrees of Fahrenheit. The misery 'was further increased by the scarcity of water, owing to the 'debility and mortality that prevailed among the bheesties, or 'persons employed in procuring this inestimable article. Num-'bers of these water carriers perished, through the fatigue which 'they under-went in this fiery climate, where the natives suffer 'more than even Europeans themselves, when called to any 'extraordinary exertion. Such were the afflicting circumstances 'of our march; and these were further aggravated by the in-'creasing number of our sick, many of whom were obliged to 'be conveyed in the common hackeries or country carts without 'any covering, and consequently exposed to the sun through the 'whole day, the vehicles very often not reaching the camp before 'evening;"—which would not have happened, Sir Charles Napier will say, if there had been a baggage-corps with a due supply of camel-litters. It is observable, that our troops always suffer

most, when they are retiring—when their work is temporarily done. Hope is a fine tonic. Action keeps men alive. There are instances on record of regiments in the field during the hot weather, which have suffered less than their brethren in cantonments. The case of the 52nd, which was out during the hot season in Bundlekhund under Colonel Mawby, about the year 1810, may be cited as an example.

Again, with reference to the employment of a *baggage*-corps beyond the Sutlej, "Such a corps," writes Sir Charles Napier, "will be more than ever required, if the Punjab be 'annexed to our dominions; for the Government of India may 'rest assured, that unless the troops are kept ready to move 'within an hour after the arrival of despatches, the Punjab 'will be more troublesome than ever. I consider that this 'baggage-corps will be a powerful auxiliary in the hands of 'the *General Officers, who may be entrusted with the Govern-* 'ment of the Punjab, after the present war is over."—In the expressive language of the gentleman in the fable—one of the best fables ever written—"There is nothing like leather." Sir Charles, being a general officer, determines that only general-officers are fit to govern the Punjab. There may be a difference of opinion on this subject in England as well as in India.

But passing, with a smile, this characteristic allusion, we cordially admit the truth of the remainder of the passage. Nothing is of more importance at the present time, than that every facility of immediate movement should be conferred upon our troops. An army, ever ready to take the field, is twice an army; or rather should we write, an army, never ready to take the field, is only half an army, or no army at all. In the Punjab we shall require not merely a large force, but a readily moveable force. Whatever view may be taken of the application of the organized *baggage* system to the Indian army, we think that the expediency of its application to the army in the Punjab will be readily admitted. The advocate of the scheme is now on the stage best fitted for the experiment. The *baggage-corps* system, which was found to answer so well in Scinde, may now be tried in the Punjab. The pamphleteer has become the chief of the Indian army. His pamphlet has acquired the significance of a minute in council; and we cannot doubt that a measure, so emphatically recommended in the closet at home, will now be recommended with double emphasis on the field beyond the Sutlej, and, what is of far more importance, emphasized into a fact. No writer has ever had a finer opportunity of turning, in the crucible of high office, words into acts. The words spoken on the *baggage* subject are not the only words which

the Indian army is fain to remember, and, remembering, to draw happy augury from the appointment of Sir Charles Napier to its chief command.

POSTSCRIPT.

Our paper on the baggage of the Indian army was written just a week too soon. We had scarcely despatched it to the Press, when Colonel Burlton's reply to Sir Charles Napier was laid upon our table; and a hasty glance at the pamphlet convinced us, that our article might have been rendered doubly acceptable to our readers, if we had had the *dicta* of the new Commander-in-Chief and the old Commissary General simultaneously before us. Colonel Burlton has done his best to knock down the nine-pins set up by Sir Charles Napier; and it is a mighty pretty game of bowls as it stands. Different as are their views—antagonistic as are their arguments—both disputants have one merit in common; they are both of them anything but dullards. They are very lively pamphleteers—inclining rather to the picturesque than to the argumentative, and flinging about their word-pigments with a prodigality which produces a little confusion on the canvas, characteristic of the subject itself. A little more gravity and a little more argument might, however, have been tolerated. Pictures are "plenty as blackberries," but reasons are not. Both pamphlets have their *impedimenta*, which overwhelm their battalions of facts; and both, camel-like, are (past conception) sprawling.

Colonel Burlton has a very mean opinion, not of Sir Charles Napier, but of his baggage corps. He politely calls it "a muscipular abortion." He says that the experiment tried in Scinde has turned out a failure; and that no one, who knew anything about the matter, ever expected a different result. Sir Charles Napier, however, declares that it is anything but a failure; and so the value, on either side, of the argument derivable from experience, stands neutralised by the *dicta* of the other. Both parties are more or less prejudiced. Colonel Burlton acknowledges that he was prepared to see the failure of Sir Charles's baggage corps; and Sir Charles was, of course, determined to demonstrate its success. In all probability the truth may be found at a point, midway between that reached by the partialities of the one, and the antipathies of the other.

But let us abandon all reference to the experiment, and see what the ex-Commissary General says of the abstract question. He arrays in order, as we have done, Sir Charles's propositions,

and, passing lightly over the first four, halts at the fifth, saying;—

The fifth proposition is, in my opinion, open to most serious objections. The measure proposed would be unpleasant and inconvenient in its operation, and would lead to constant mistakes and confusion of property; there would be continual *jangling* and quarrelling too, between the public camel-drivers and the private servants of the officer; and the property of the latter would be stolen or lost, without chance or hope of recovery, with no one on whom the responsibility would rest.

We confess that we do not see the force of this. Sir Charles Napier's proposition is, "that all private baggage should be carried by the public." Now, we are not sure that he has made out his case very convincingly, but the main objection to the plan, assuredly, is not that of irresponsibility. Sir Charles Napier designs to establish a chain of responsibility from one end to the other of his baggage-establishment, and to give increased security to property. It appears to us, indeed, that this is one of its merits. Baggage, under the proposed system, would be less likely to be lost; and the culpability, if any were lost, would be more readily fixed upon the public, than on the private servant. As the camels would be less overloaded, and their burdens more systematically packed, there would be less chance of *loss;* and as the train would be better guarded, there would be less chance of *theft.* And it would be a sorry system, indeed, that did not secure the identification of the individual, under whose charge the property lost or stolen was placed upon the line of march. But identification, it may be said, is not indemnification; nor is it so under the private system. If an officer under that system loses his camels, he often loses his baggage too; but under the public system, says Sir Charles Napier, "no officer can lose his 'baggage in the ordinary course of things, for if a camel fails, 'another is at once supplied by the public, because with every 'force in the field, there are animals to spare and ready to fur-'nish assistance on an emergency." And as to the matter of indemnification, when loss occurs, if the state undertakes to be the great army carrier, it will grant compensation for the loss of goods occasioned by the negligence of its own servants.

There is a vast deal of exaggeration in Sir Charles Napier's pamphlet, and Colonel Burlton has not spared the General's high-wrought pictures of agonised commanders, and overwhelmed armies, and trains of baggage-cattle, fifty miles long. But we must brush aside this mass of badinage, amusing as much of it is, and get, if we can, at the drift of his arguments. The ex-Commissary-General says, he doubts whether the extent of the baggage, which now ordinarily accompanies our Indian armies,

can be greatly reduced. The private baggage bears so small a proportion, he contends, to the public baggage, that, if the whole of the former were abandoned, it would make no material difference. The statement is worth quoting;—

He will, of course, allow, that with every army in India, moving beyond the British territory, it is *essentially necessary* to carry a certain supply of provisions, camp equipage, ammunition, hospital comforts, and medical stores; besides grain for the cavalry and artillery horses, and other public cattle. Let us suppose the army assembled, and that they have a string of 20,000 camels attached, the number assumed by Sir Charles at page 10 of his pamphlet. Let me now ask how many of those 20,000 does Sir Charles suppose would be required, and employed in the conveyance of *essentials*, the absolute *necessaries* for the force as above enumerated,—and, without which, the force, like the detachments under General England and Colonel Wallace, would be crippled, and unable to move? How many of the 20,000, in short, does Sir Charles suppose, will be employed for public, and how many for private purposes? It is impossible, of course, to give a strictly accurate reply to the question; but a long and intimate acquaintance with cattle indents, and with the wants and demands of Indian armies, both for public and private purposes, enables me to state with much confidence, that, of a total of 20,000 camels with an army, scarcely one-tenth (or 2,000) will be employed in the conveyance of the private tents and property of the officers and men; whilst the remainder will be found laden with those public stores, above detailed, without which the army could not move with prudence or in safety. As, however, these proportions are assumed, and their accuracy may be questioned, let us say that 16,000 camels only are employed on public purposes, and that the remaining 4,000 are occupied entirely in conveying the private baggage and tents of the "Sybarite" officers, and men of the force. Those same Sybarites, let me say, *en passant*, have many a ruffled rose-leaf to lie upon, of which they have never yet been known to complain!—How many of these 4,000 camels does Sir Charles Napier think could be dispensed with? Shall we say one-half? If we do, what, after all would be gained? We should have 18,000 camels still with our force; when we have *that* number, the 2,000 we have dispensed with will be missed, rather through the inconvenience occasioned by their absence, than by any perceptible diminution of the baggage train accompanying the force, or of the labours of those employed in controlling or guarding the baggage on the march.

The experience of a large number of our readers will enable them to determine the worth of these calculations. Colonel Burlton's testimony, on such a point as this, is entitled to due weight. But perhaps it has not been sufficiently considered, how baggage begets baggage; how it increases not by arithmetical but by geometrical progression; and how it diminishes in like ratio. So many tents less, so many tent-pitchers less; so many camels less, so many camel-drivers less; so many tent-pitchers and so many camel-drivers less, then so much provision less, and so many camels less to carry provisions, and so many camels less to eat them. It is by this multiplied action and re-action, that baggage, when once the beginning is made, so rapidly

reduces itself. It appears to us, that no just calculations can be made, without fully considering the point which we have thus indicated.

But supposing, says Colonel Burlton, the system proposed by Sir Charles Napier be adopted, there is the germ of failure to be found in the characters of the agents, whom it will be necessary to employ:—

The camel-drivers are amongst the worst, the most demoralized, and dissolute class of the people of India; they are unfit to be trusted with arms, or treated as soldiers; and if they were once enrolled, dressed, and disciplined as such, they would no longer be *worth their salt* as camel-drivers. They would, in fact, be above their work in the latter capacity, and at the same time good-for-nothing as soldiers. Their camels would be neither fed nor groomed, and their high wages, nearly double what they now receive, would enable them to indulge more than ever in their great luxuries, opium and bhang; rendering them ere long useless and inefficient, if not mischievous. In the character and habits of these men, is to be found one great difficulty in bringing such a corps, as Sir Charles describes, to any thing like an efficient and useful state.

This is not very convincing. It relates to things as they are: rather than to things as they would be, under the proposed system. With better pay and the guarantee of pensions we should, in all probability, attract to this branch of the service a much better class of men than the private camel-drivers who now attend our armies. It is part of Sir Charles's plan to "ennoble the profession" of the camel-driver. Colonel Burlton says that if we do so, we shall spoil him—that the better the soldier, the worse the driver. It is hardly fair of the ex-Commissary-General to endeavor to force his antagonist upon *both* horns of the dilemma. If the men be too debased for soldiers, they will not be too elevated for camel-drivers: but we cannot see, why they should fail in either capacity. A man will not feed his beast less, or groom it worse, for being better paid for the work, and having less temptation to steal. One of the grounds, on which Sir Charles Napier recommends the establishment of baggage-corps, is that the camels would be better fed and tended. There would be more certain responsibility, and more efficient superintendence. The inducements to good conduct and the restraints of bad conduct would be more cogent; and the result, if we are not wholly mistaken, would be greatly in favor of the camel. Under the present system he certainly is not the best-used creature in the world.

But let us see something of what the "present system" really is. Who so fit to give an account of it as a Commissary-General?

"It appears to me, that Sir Charles is not aware of the system under which baggage cattle are provided for the troops in that part of India, nor

how nearly, in all but what I would call the "stage effects," (such as the coloured lanterns, the castle and gibbet, arms, uniform, brass plates, and Kubadar Molls,) it approaches to his own pet child, the Scinde baggage-corps. Let me therefore explain, as briefly as possible. At every military station, a certain complement of elephants or camels (as well as *gun*-bullocks, of course,) are kept up, as the property of Government; the elephants are caught in the Chittagong district; the camels and bullocks are bred at the Government farm at Hissar. At frontier stations, enough of these animals are kept ready at all times to enable the whole of the troops, with their tents and ammunition, to move at a few hours' notice. At the more central stations, enough are kept for the movement, in like manner, of one-half, or, in some cases, of two-thirds of the troops. These cattle are of the finest description; and though there is no commandant (so called), no quarter-masters, or regimental staff, or uniforms, or arms, or theatrical blue or red lights, yet is there a very effective establishment under other names. There is, for instance, the commissariat officer in charge of the whole, and the European cattle-sergeant; the gomashta, or native agent, (or superintendent,) and one head jemmadar; then, for every 100 camels we have one jemmadar, and two duffadars, with one surwan, or driver, for every two camels. There is some little difference between the names of some of these classes, and those which Sir Charles Napier has proposed for his baggage corps; but "what's in a name?" I dare say my gomashta would smell as sweet as his captain, and my duffadars as his havildars. My surwans, indeed, are not armed or disciplined, and therein have their camels reason to rejoice, for they are all the better fed and groomed in consequence. How far the establishment, I have thus briefly described, is adequate to the object for which it is kept up, (that is, the movement of the troops at a short notice), may be shown in a few words; and those, too, in reference to the very important period to which Sir Charles has alluded in his 41st page.

Colonel Burlton then cites, felicitously enough, the rapidity with which, in December 1845, the British army was moved upon Múdkhí. That movement stands chronicled in the pages of this journal. A reference to the *eleventh* number of the *Calcutta Review* will show what is our estimate of that historical event. We should have thought less of it, if such promptitude had been the rule, and not a brilliant exception. We could cite a score of instances to show, that not only an army, but a division, a brigade, or even a single regiment, often takes much longer time to get ready for the field.

It will have been seen that, in the extract above quoted, Colonel Burlton seems to ridicule the idea of systematic military superintendence and responsibility. 'What's in a name?' he asks. "I dare say my gomashta would smell as sweet as his captain, and my duffadars as his havildars." The odour of sanctity, which envelops a commissariat gomashta, is not generally supposed to be the most fragrant in the world; he exudes but little "celestial ichor." He is too often "a rogue in grain," in more senses than one. Now, if there be one thing more than another to recommend Sir Charles Napier's plan, it is that the baggage-cattle of the army would be placed under more

reliable European superintendence. If Colonel Burlton thinks that a commissariat gomashta is as likely to do justice to the "discontented" but uncomplaining camel* as an European Captain, we doubt whether on this point his opinion will be shared by many of our readers.

But if Colonel Burlton be right, it is of little use to consider these minor points, for he asserts that the application of the baggage-corps system to the army is neither necessary nor practicable :—

If it could be satisfactorily and conclusively shown, that an armed baggage corps was *necessary*, or essential, to the efficiency of the army, or if it could even be shown that it was very greatly superior to the establishment at present kept up for the Bengal army, I should certainly deem it worthy of adoption, even though at a considerable increase of expence; but I altogether deny its *necessity*; doubt its practicability (to the extent that would be requisite to produce any important result); and, even under the most favorable construction of its supposed advantages, am of opinion that the latter could not possibly prove at all commensurate with the very considerable outlay it would occasion. As regards the *necessity*, I content myself with pointing to the successes of the Indian army from the days of Clive to the present time. I would point to the campaigns, the extraordinary marches, and the brilliant achievements of that army for the past century, and ask, why should we now require an armed and disciplined body of men to load our baggage, when we needed it not before? As regards the *practicability* of establishing such a corps, I have already pointed out one or two of the difficulties attending the measure; but, even supposing these difficulties to be overcome, there is yet to be considered the uselessness of establishing such a corps, on imperfect principles, or of insufficient strength. I have observed before, that a baggage-corps system, to be useful, must be complete—that a corps of 1,800 men, for instance, would be utterly useless (*"rari nantes in gurgite vasto"*) in the midst of the tumultuous and troubled sea of baggage, such as Sir Charles Napier has described. Be the army large or small, the baggage-corps should be strong enough to carry the whole of its baggage; it would be bootless for it to carry a part, and this, I think, Sir Charles will allow. Now, let us see what sort of a corps would be required, for instance, to carry the baggage with the force now under Lord Gough, on the *"fabulosus Hydaspes."* It is scarcely possible, neither is it necessary, to make any precise calculation of the quantities of carriage,—elephants, camels, bullocks, mules, carts, &c.,—which in all probability, form Lord Gough's baggage-train; but I am sure I shall be guilty of no exaggeration, if, reducing them all into one denomination, I say they will be fully equal to 25,000 camels. Now, 25,000 camels, on Sir Charles Napier's proposed establishment, would cost (exclusive of their food) about 255,000 rupees, or say £25,500 per mensem. The cost of the same number of camels, on the present Bengal system, would be, (also exclusive of their food) about 75,000 Rs., or say £7,500 per mensem; thus showing a clear excess for the baggage-corps, of £18,000 per mensem, or £216,000 per annum! and this, without counting the expense of uniform, arms, accoutrements, ammunition, flags, lanterns, or Kubadar Molls. I

* In an account of India, published in 1711 by one John Lockyer, we find the camel described as "a discontented, stinking, ugly, unserviceable creature." This writer sets down the proper load for a camel at from 4 to 5 maunds—which agrees with that fixed by Sir Charles Napier.

have put the matter in this rather strong light, to show what might be the occasional outlay incurred, by the introduction of the proposed system; but, even looking to it in ordinary times of peace, there will still be an increase of expenditure apparent, sufficient to make a member of the Supreme Goverment (as Sir Charles will now be) pause ere he gave it sanction.

The total number of Government public cattle (elephants and camels) kept up at all times for the carriage of the camp-equipage and ammunition of the Bengal army, (exclusive of carriage bullocks, which are used in Bengal proper), may be said, on a rough estimate, to amount to about 6,000 camels; their cost in cantonments, exclusive of their food, may be calculated at three rupees each, or 18,000 rupees per mensem. The same number of camels, formed into baggage-corps, on the organization proposed by Sir C. Napier, would cost about Rs. 10+3 each, or 61,000 rupees per mensem; giving a difference in English money of £51,600 per annum, without counting the cost of arms, uniform, &c., for 6,000 privates, and their officers and staff of all descriptions, as before stated.

Now as Colonel Burlton asserts, what we very readily acknowledge, that "parsimony in military matters is too frequently the worst extravagance," these financial considerations need scarcely have been put so prominently forward. If, however, Sir Charles Napier's scheme be neither necessary nor practicable, there is an end of the matter. But we confess that we look upon these references to antiquity as of all arguments the most worthless. "Our ancestors have done without it—so can we." If there were any cogency in this, there would be an end at once to all improvements. Nay, if our ancestors had recognised it, we should now be fighting our battles with cross-bows. It is all very well to point to the successes of the Indian army since the days of Clive. That army has had its disasters too: and we think that, after perusing the historical illustrations in the earlier part of our article, the reader will come to the conclusion, that a very large proportion of those disasters were caused by the magnitude of our baggage. As to the impracticability of the scheme on the score of expence, Colonel Burlton has shown, we think, very satisfactorily, that we may have a much less expensive baggage-corps, without any loss of efficiency, than that with which Sir Charles Napier experimentalised in Scinde. "Throughout India," he says, "one surwan is considered more than equal to 'the charge of two baggage-camels; in general one man 'takes care of three, and frequently more. I do not understand, therefore, why Sir Charles Napier should have allotted a man to every camel in his baggage-corps; but as I am 'quite certain that half the number would be amply sufficient, 'I would venture to suggest for the gallant officer's consideration, whether it might not be preferable to divide his corps 'of 1,800 camels into two classes—that is to say, 900 drivers, 'each with his two camels, and 900 regular sepoys." The *argumentum ad absurdum*, with which this passage con-

cludes, is well enough in a pamphlet written by so facetious a scribe as Colonel Burlton; but we would rather that the Ex-commissary General had treated the matter with a little more gravity. The statement, however, is not without its uses. Colonel Burlton has shown, we think, that Sir Charles Napier has over-manned his baggage-corps. But a system is not radically faulty, because it may be improved.

The fact, indeed, is this, that there may be defects in the plan proposed by Sir Charles Napier—but that nothing can be better than its object. "Rome was not built in a day." The experimental baggage-corps raised in Scinde will have enabled Sir Charles to see clearly the points at which his system is improvable. That system may not be adopted in all its details; but we cannot help thinking, as we earnestly hope, that something will come of this discussion. There can be no doubt that our armies have been wont to take the field encumbered with an inordinate mass of baggage; and our belief is that the evil is not, in all its length and breadth, a necessary evil. We do not mean that it is remediable in the gross, but that it is remediable in part. The disease, we feel assured, under proper treatment, can be greatly alleviated, if a cure be out of the question. What we especially want at the present time is an army that can be readily set in motion, and that once set in motion, can move with rapidity from one point to another; and whether that object is to be brought about by the agency of a "baggage-corps," or of an improved commissariat system, is of very little consequence in the end Sir Charles Napier's pamphlet has this advantage over Colonel Burlton's, that it suggests something—it aims at some improvement; whilst the Ex-commissary general—*laudator temporis acti*—seems satisfied with things as they are.

One word more, before we part from Colonel Burlton. He has undertaken to show—and what he has undertaken, he has done bravely and well—that the officers of the Indian army are not "Sybarites;" but soldiers ready, at all times, at the call of duty to sacrifice their individual comforts. Who can doubt it? Not we. Not, we feel assured, Sir Charles Napier himself. But we have marked Colonel Burlton's apology for insertion, and we may let the extract stand:—

In looking to the baggage of the officers of an Indian army, and calculating what may be their real wants, we must first divide them into two classes. Those who belong to regiments having messes, and those belonging to regiments having none. It will be simpler still, and perhaps fairer on the whole, to class them into officers of European, and officers of native regiments. All the former have excellent and well-organized messes. These officers have only to sit down, eat, and be filled. The native regiments differ; some have messes, others have not; but the officers of these corps are so liable to be detached, on escort, treasure, and other such duties, away from their

head-quarters, that, in point of fact, they must keep themselves to some extent provided with the means of getting a breakfast or dinner cooked up for themselves, independently altogether of the aid of the mess; and we may as well, therefore, put the latter out of sight altogether, in considering their wants. At page 39 of his pamphlet, Sir Charles Napier gives us his idea of what an officer requires on service, "his tent, his bed, a canteen, a second pair of breeches," and so forth. Very true; the allowance is a fair and liberal one enough: nay, more, if the officer belongs to an European regiment, he will not require the canteen at all. In fact the only part of an officer's baggage, worth considering, is his tent. This requires one or two camels for its conveyance. Let the Government provide it, and carry it, and I am tolerably certain that no officer in the army, (save some of the highest ranks), would wish to encumber himself on active service with more than one camel, for the conveyance of all the rest of his worldly goods. The officer of an European regiment would not even require one camel; his second pair of breeches, and other luxuries of the kind, might be carried in a pair of camp baskets, slung over a man's shoulder; and another man could carry his bed. What more would he want? I am afraid, however, the officer of the native regiment, the regiment without a mess, must be indulged a little more. Remember, he has no meal provided for him; he has nothing to eat but what he brings with him, or can pick up on the march, (I need hardly say *how much* that is),—and to prepare even that measly fowl, or emaciated kid, which we saw mounted on his camel, he must carry his own spit or gridiron. Then, as he cannot afford to carry wine or beer, he may be allowed to comfort himself occasionally with a cup of tea,—the European soldier receives it daily;—and perhaps a bottle or two of brandy, "to keep out the cold" on a wet night, will not be grudged him even by Sir Charles Napier. But, to render even these very small comforts of any use, he must carry a tea-kettle, a saucepan or two, a tea-pot (he will drink his tea out of a tumbler, and be thankful), a couple of plates, and as many knives, forks, and spoons. He must have a canteen, in short, and the best kind of canteen is a camel trunk. It will hold all I have mentioned, and a small supply of tea, biscuits, &c. besides. It occupies one side of a camel: on the other side is slung a corresponding trunk, conveying the spare pair of breeches, &c., and over the two, crosswise, is the bed. The kid, the fowl, the gridiron, the spit, have already been stowed away on the other camel carrying the tent; and perhaps, if you were present, and watched very closely the unloading of the two animals, you might find the tea kettle and saucepan, with a lump of firewood, and a piece of salted beef, a red-herring, or a tongue perhaps, carefully stowed away by the ingenious butler, cook, and footman, (like Mrs. Malaprop's Mr. Cerberus, three single gentlemen in one), in some fold of the tent, whilst, from amidst the bed-clothes, would emerge boots, hair-brushes, night-caps, segars, razors (oh, fie! thou Sybarite!) the half-emptied brandy bottle, a prayer-book (good boy!), candlestick, slippers, a one-keyed flute, and a single-barrelled gun. A bed on the line of march is something like a carpet-bag, the general repository of all miscellaneous stray articles, which no one can find any other place for; and which can never be filled so full, but that something else can be crammed into it, somehow or other. Now we here have pictured our two young officers. The one, belonging to an European regiment, needs nothing but a couple of men; if he be extravagant, and have more than one spare pair of breeches, let him have one camel, instead of the two men. He requires nothing more, except for his tent; and I think I may say, going on active service, he seldom has more.

The officer of the native regiment, on the other hand, who has no mess to resort to, nothing to eat or drink but what he carries, must be considered in a more indulgent spirit, and should not be grudged, (what I think he does

not often exceed) one camel for all his wants, in addition, as in the former case, to the requisite carriage for his tent; nay, more, if I were the General commanding, I would allow him a man with a pair of baskets besides, though it were only to let him carry one bottle of wine to rejoice with over our first victory; or to drink his mother's health on her birth-day; and at the same time to relieve the groaning bed of some portion of its burthen.

It is but proper to tell the English reader that the higher ranks of the Indian army fare somewhat, though not much better, than the young officer, whose *menage* I have been describing; but as Sir Charles Napier would seem to have selected a Commander-in-Chief, or General of Division at least, with his sixty servants *(vide* page 21), to hold up as a specimen of our Indian officers to the gaze of an astonished English public, it is but fair that I should select my specimen of the monster from the other end of the ladder, and shew what are the vaunted luxuries of the Indian subaltern. That the officers of the Indian army can dispense with even these *luxuries*, when their duty calls on them to do so; that they are ever ready to march without even a servant or a tent, when emergencies arise; and to leave everything behind them but their stout hearts and good swords, when started in pursuit of an enemy, let the history of India proclaim.

Who made a difficulty, or asked a question about his baggage, his servants, his luxuries, when he heard that Lord Lake was about to take him a march of seventy-five miles at a stretch, to surprise Holkar at Futtyghur? And when they beat up his quarters in the morning, after that splendid march, was there one of those enervated luxurious officers absent from the fray? How did they accomplish those extraordinary marches of the campaigns of 1817—18, if they were so dependent on their baggage, their servants, and their creature comforts? Ask General Caulfield, Sir Charles, (he is now an East India Director), how he and his officers fared, or what they cared for luxuries, in his successful pursuit of a body of Pindaris in 1817, with a party of the 5th Cavalry? Or what cared *they* either of the 4th Cavalry under Major Ridge, in their march of about the same distance a short time afterwards? Or the left division of the grand army under Sir Dyson Marshall? Or, subsequently, the cavalry, or flying division, under Sir Thomas Brown? Or the divisions on the Nerbudda, under Adams and Doveton? Or the Bombay division, under Sir W. G. Keir? Did they, I ask, or any of them, ever talk of luxuries or inquire for their servants, tents, or baggage, when called on to make marches of forty, fifty, and sixty miles? or did they flag or fail in accomplishing them?

Look at the army in Ava. Look at that force just starting from Rangoon (it is Feburary 1825), under Sir A. Campbell. What were their equipments, think you, their luxuries, their baggage, their servants? You shall hear. Every officer was allowed, for the purpose of carrying his *tent*, his clothes, his provisions, his worldly goods and chattels of every kind, one-half of a bullock; *one* miserable Bengal bullock, of the worst and smallest description (not bigger than a donkey), was allowed for every two officers; and we were starting on a march of several hundred miles, through a hostile country, which we knew would be desolated and deserted before us. The sight of that camp, I imagine, would have astonished, or, it may be delighted, Sir Charles Napier; at all events, it would have shewn him "*the old Peninsula style*" fairly outdone in India. Few, but a very few, lucky officers, who had been at Rangoon during the previous eight or nine months of its occupation, had contrived to pick up a stray pony, or a donkey, or a cow perhaps, to help them on in the approaching campaign; but the majority, the great bulk of them, in fact, had nothing but the miserable half bullock before mentioned. For tents, few had anything better than a sort of awning, or a large blanket, (or two sewn together), with three bambús, two uprights, and a ridge pole, to support it. But I am a poor hand at a description, and will therefore give a picture of our camp, as drawn by an

officer, who had rather a good idea of colouring, and was not ashamed to display his talent. "On reaching camp, the scene which presented itself was at once grotesque and novel. No double-poled tent bespoke the army of Bengal, or rows of well-pitched rowties that of the sister presidency; no oriental luxury was here displayed, or even any *of the comforts of an European camp*" (please to mark that, Sir Charles!) "to console the traveller after his hot and weary march; but officers of all ranks couching under a blanket, or Lilliputian tent, to shelter themselves from a meridian sun, with a miserable half-starved cow or pony, the sole beast of burden of the inmate, tied or piqueted in rear, conveying to the mind more the idea of a gipsy bivouac, than of a military encampment. Nothing of the pomp or circumstance of war was here apparent, nor would even the experienced eye have recognised in the little group, that appeared but as a speck on the surface of an extensive plain, a force about to undertake the subjugation of an empire, and to fight its way for 600 miles against climate, privation, and a numerous enemy."—*Snodgrass's Burmese War*, pp. 132-9.

It may be as well to mention, that this force, "about to undertake the subjugation of an empire," consisted of about 1,300 European infantry, 1,000 sepoys, two squadrons of native cavalry, one troop of horse-artillery, and a rocket-troop. For this small force we contrived to carry provisions for fifteen days, on carts; the train was a small one indeed, compared with what is required for an army of twenty or thirty thousand men, but, small as it was, it was the only part of our baggage train which ever incommoded our movements, or caused us trouble. So it will always be found in India; the actual luggage of officers and men is as nothing compared with the depôt of provisions; and yet, how can the latter be dispensed with? But to return to the force in Ava. For the luxuries of the table, the officers on this campaign received the same rations as the private soldier; salt junk, (occasionally varied by a little fresh buffalo!) ship-biscuits, and two drams of rum, drawn daily on indent, from the commissariat stores. This was not simply for a day or two, either; the force left Rangoon on the 12th of February, and did not get into quarters, if such they could be called, at Prome, until the 25th of April; and yet, somehow or other, we got along gaily enough. It would have been most dangerous to attempt such a march, with such equipments, in Hindostan; but fortunately we had delightful weather, and the troops continued remarkably healthy throughout. When you reach Bombay, Sir Charles, ask Sir Willoughby Cotton, if he remembers the time, when he thought a piece of buffalo's flesh a luxury. To be sure it required the teeth of an ogre to masticate it, but it made something like a soup: it was fresh; we got it at first, but seldom, and so it was considered somewhat of a treat! Go to! Sir Charles, go to! In your trip to Emamghur in 1843, you and your aide-de-camp had three camels between you, and you think your self-denial and privation in not having more, worthy of a note of admiration! You had beer and wine too, it seems; however, as you confess and cry shame on yourself for *this*, we will say no more about it; only, I pray you, not to run away with the idea, that you are going to command an army, whose officers will not readily and cheerfully go hand in hand with you in all things,—in hardship, in privations, or in dangers,—but I am forgetting our line of baggage.

We part, after this passage, as will the majority of our readers, in good humour with Colonel Burlton; but we cannot help wishing that he had turned his experience, which is great, and his talents, which are considerable, to some better account. The importance of the subject deserves something better than a volume of amusing banter: and something better the Ex-commissary General might easily give us, if he would.

ART. VI.—*Introduction to the Bengali Language, by the late Rev. W. Yates, D. D. Edited by J. Wenger.*

WE feel that some explanation is required of our reasons for drawing attention to a language, which does not possess one single prose author of sterling value, which has none of the early national poetry that sometimes compensates for the absence of a more varied literature, and which is spoken by a people, whom the Deen Dayals and Bhawani Sings of Oude, or of Rohilcund, are accustomed to hold in the most supreme and unmitigated contempt.

The claims of the Bengali language on our notice are, however, both manifold and indisputable. It is spoken by from twenty-five to thirty millions of inhabitants. The vast plains, in which it is the medium of conversation, are the fairest and richest throughout the length and breadth of the Peninsula. Closely dependant on the parent Sanskrit, it possesses many of the advantages, and few of the blemishes, which characterize that first of Indo-Germanic tongues. Though not without a few dialectical variations, it preserves mainly an unbroken regularity, from the banks of the Subhanrika, to the frontiers of Assam. It is simple in its structure, lucid in its syntax, and vigorous in its expressions, and above all, it is inseparably connected in our mind with those pleasing recollections, which the progress of education, and the first dawning of enlightened opinions in the Lower Provinces, cannot fail to excite.

No further apology would therefore seem required for the following detailed notice of the Bengali language and literature. It has frequently been remarked that Bengali more closely resembles Sanskrit than Italian does Latin. We might go further, and almost say that it has altered very little more from the original, than modern Greek has from the language of Thucydides and Plato. Bengali has experienced but a moderate change from the vicissitudes of conquest, and the successive sway of Mussulman or Affghan dynasties. It is true that the influx of Persian and Arabic substantives, into the spoken and even the written dialect, has been very considerable: but the great landmarks of the language have remained fixed aud unalterable. In the simplicity of its syntax, in its observance of many of the laws of euphony, in the preservation unimpaired of those parts of speech which European grammarians term verbs, and which Orientals with more true perception, emphatically term the words of *action*, in adherence to all that the Sanskrit language had of dignity and clearness, and in abhorrence of a load of

grammatical subtleties, Bengali as a written language, has remained to this day unchanged. It has not resulted from the coalition of two broken languages, as modern English from Norman-French and Saxon: it shows no marks of that fusion which invaders, succeeding each other in rapid succession, have given to the Italian: it sprung not, like the polished Urdu, from some great Camp-city, where, for six months in the year, the Amir and the retainer, the peasant and the mercenary soldier, adventurers and pedlars from distant countries, mixed in the intercourse of amusement, of dependance, or of trade. Bengali flows almost entirely from one single source; and, of all the rivulets which rise from that primeval fountain, it most reminds us of the original parent.

Whatever may have been the early seat, or the fortunes of that nation, whose laws and literature are contained in the Sanskrit, there is little doubt that they possessed, as a people, many of the essential elements of greatness. With the conservative spirit of their institutions, and the depressing tendency of their social and domestic policies, by which those elements were stifled, we have here nothing to do. But for a right understanding, of the character of the Bengali language, we may be pardoned for a passing reference to that of the Sanskrit. Rich in synonymes, regular in its early formation, with euphony that fell like music on the ear, and combinations that conveyed instantaneously a graphic picture to the eye, of wire-drawn subtlety, of pointed and sententious terseness, diffuse or compact at will, of fertility such as neither fresh discoveries in science, nor all the refinements of the schools, could exhaust, speaking by turns the language of war, of love, and of philosophy, Sanskrit might have descended to posterity, no incorrect image of that ideal perfection, which its ambitious priesthood had vainly arrogated for their chosen offspring. But ample causes were at work to blast the fair promise of its earlier stages. It fell into the hands of men, whose perverse ingenuity delighted to change clearness into obscurity, and to make riddles of plain words. What was already refined became intricate and confused: what was manly and vigorous, was rendered fanciful and puerile. The language well worthy of the Rulers of Hastinapura and Ujayini, became the language of quacks, of dreamers, and of mountebanks. Its melodious euphony was degraded to the formation of endless and unmeaning alliterations: its grammar was loaded with those additional incumbrances, which testify the desire to make knowledge hard of attainment, and worthless, when attained. Thus tricked out and falsified, with a literature unadorned by even a single historical work, it has come

down to us as the lasting memorial of the Asiatic intellect, which in the social system, as in the creations of the brain, appears alike incapable of comprehensiveness, of freedom, and of truth.

From the above language Bengali has sprung at one step. Its only new invention is a new written character. While the Hindi employs the old Devanagari, the Bengali has devised a new set of symbols, based essentially on the same principles, but different in actual shape. Whether the former fact be an argument to prove the greater independance of the people of Upper India, and the latter demonstrate the more pliant and servile temperament of the dwellers by the Lower Ganges; whether Bengali was devised as a speaking language, because it was either impossible or impolitic to speak in such a one as the Sanskrit, are questions which may be left to the speculative and the curious. But it is worth while to examine how like, and yet how unlike, are the original and the copy. In pure Bengali well nigh every word is pure Sanskrit. Here the final letter has been omitted: there the word itself has undergone some slight change, but is yet easily traceable to the source: here again it is hardly to be recognised, save by the implicit faith, and the unhesitating compliance of the eager philologist. But in the syntax, what a complete, what a salutary revolution! Instead of the complicated declensions of Sanskrit, we have nouns which adapt themselves to a certain ready-made set of affixes, indicative of case, and never subject to variety. Very slight regard is paid to the difference of singular and plural, and but occasionally to the concord of adjectives. English itself is hardly less solicitous, than is the Bengali, about the distinctions of sex in epithets. But if the change is remarkable in nouns, it is something miraculous in the verbs. Sanskrit had shown us some ten conjugations: a couple of thousand roots, ideal in existence, it is true, but still the source of verbs: a common and a proper form of conjugation: a number of prepositions, which, when added to the root, increased, modified, or altered, in some way, its original meaning: a profusion of tenses as considerable as in Greek: a general uncertainty, so striking as to puzzle the most practised scholar and the profoundest grammarian. By one single stroke of the enchanter's wand all this has vanished. All the subtleties of dictionary makers, all the fine-spun distinctions, all the artificial barriers, which hedged in Sanskrit from the vulgar gaze, and made its acquisition the labour of a life-time, have been entirely swept away. Out of a language the most complicated, the most refined, and the most impregnable, has come forth a spoken tongue, composed essentially of the same substance, and yet the most simple in structure, and the least

fettered by created restrictions, of any in the whole range of philology.

A short account of the most remarkable peculiarities of Bengali may perhaps be no unfitting introduction to a statement of its exceedingly scanty literature, and to such particulars of its usages and structure, as we have been enabled to gather from intercourse with the native population. In this, we shall endeavour to avoid the minuteness of a lexicographer, and to set forth such an account as may serve to acquaint even un-oriental readers with the main sources of its weakness and its strength.

In Orthography, Bengali closely imitates the Sanskrit. It has invented, as before said, a new character, but in the number of letters, vowels or consonants, in the laws of euphony, which regulate their junction and separation, it is essentially one and the same. A nobler model could, indeed, hardly have been found. No anxiety for symmetrical order on the part of the inventor of letters, no desire to express sound by adequate signs, could have devised representatives more luminous and more efficient. The pre-eminence of Sanskrit in this respect is sufficiently proved by the pertinacity with which so many Eastern dialects have appropriated, not the exact form of its letters, but their powers, number, division, and arrangement. The invention of the Sanskrit Cadmus, whoever he may have been, remains to this day unrivalled; and, as recent publications have reminded us, is re-produced with slight alterations in the most distant and opposite regions of India, in the languages of Nepal, and on the borders of Scinde.

But in pronunciation Bengali has deteriorated. The clear sounding *a*, which, in Sanskrit, is considered inherent in every consonant, when no other distinct vowel is expressed, has been transmitted into a dull-sounding *o*. The consonant or semi-vowel *y* is invariably pronounced as *j*, and the distinction between *v* and *b* has completely vanished. The effect of this last unauthorised metamorphosis will be readily conceived by every beginner in Bengali, who will be dismayed, at the first outset, by hearing his native Pundit pronounce the word "vowels," the force of which he is endeavouring to explain, as "bowels," and the word "votes," as "boats!" What greater proof is required of degeneracy, and of dulled perception in speech and ear?

The rules for nouns and adjectives, cases and concords, comparative and superlative, are all of the simplest and easiest kind. In the numerals the utmost license seems to have been given to the wanderings of fancy. What in Sanskrit are uniform and regular, have, in common Bengali as in Hindi, become wayward, disorderly and unmeaning. This is in some degree com-

pensated by the simplicity of the verbs. It is hardly an exaggeration to say, that there is no such thing as an irregular verb in the language. Those of regular declension maintain an unswerving fidelity to one model; and in the written language, or that employed with persons of rank, the utmost possible use is made of the primary verb "to do," which, joined with a noun-substantive, actually displaces all other verbs, which, in themselves and without any noun, are indicative of the act talked of, or performed. One or two other peculiarities in this part of the subject are not undeserving notice. The form of the Latin future (ibo), which had been lost in Sanskrit, re-appears in Bengali: a negative and an affirmative verb, short and compact, give it an additional source of strength, especially in conversation: it has the causal verb regularly formed by the insertion, or the lengthening, of one single syllable: its passive form is somewhat cumbersome, though it possesses the merit of perspicuity: and in short there appears throughout a studied desire to avoid whatever is variable, intricate, or obscure.

In the conjugation of verbs, Bengali has a manifest advantage over the spoken language of the North West Provinces, or the Urdu. Superior as is the latter in the fertility and variety of these parts of speech, grammarians have anxiously laboured to load it with new difficulties by subjecting the verb to the rules of concord. In French and Italian, we know participles follow the gender, not of the governing, but of the governed noun. Urdu generally reverses this rule, and carries concord further still. The past, the present, and the future tenses are actually indicative of the sex of the speaker. Open an Urdu story book, and a glance will tell whether a man or a woman be the party acting in the narrative. These created distinctions, though at times serving to elucidate, obviously increase the difficulties of beginners, and, from a laudable desire to impart clearness to sentences, degenerate into intricacy and confusion. All the above are in Bengali unknown. These differences are worthy of notice for those who would appreciate the simple and almost infantine character of Bengali grammar. Divest it of its somewhat forbidding written character, and its dulled sound, it is one of the plainest and most inviting of all derivative tongues.

At the risk of turning a paper on the merits of a language into a philological disquisition we have been hitherto diffuse. We now proceed to examine the character of the few books extant in Bengali, on which even the most favourable opinion could not venture to bestow the title of a literature. We gather from Dr. Yates's book, that before the commencement of

the present century, few, if any, even of those few, were in existence. The palmy days of Hindu literature had indeed long passed away. A new rival had fairly occupied possession of the field. It was, in truth, a noble language, fitted alike for the closet and the assembly, for the philosopher and the man of the world. Men, who could explore the depths of the mind with as great perseverance as any of the Hindu sages, here found a worthy exponent of their thoughts. Poets had composed in it epics on the deeds of heroes, as famous as those storied in the Ramayana. By it, authenticated narratives of invasion, of conquest, and of imperial rule, had been handed down to successive generations. Its praises in favour of wine, its highly-wrought descriptions of the youthful charms of women, had arrested the attention of high and low, and had gladdened even the hearts of kings. Famed minstrels had adopted its sweet sounds to the melody of the harp, and had been rewarded for their song, by the proverbial neglect, or the fabled munificence, of oriental sovereigns. Rich in every imaginable department of literature, it was eminently the language of articulate-speaking men. It had been increased by a law phraseology, drawn from another and a more powerful source: it gave dignity to the humblest subjects, and clothed in an exuberant redundancy of diction the driest and dullest of disquisitions; and, above all, it possessed a quality, in which Sanskrit was signally wanting, that of ready application to all the practical purposes of life. Nothing about it was more remarkable than the perfection of its written character. Its manuscripts, of which the neatness and accuracy might almost vie with the printer's art, adorned with tracery and embellishment, were handed down as heir-looms in the families of nobles, or stored in repositories, where breathed the odour of sanctity. It had been cultivated, men said, with greater success in India than in the land of its origin, and conscious of its superiority for all purposes of intercourse or of business, the supple Hindu soon learnt to handle it with equal or even greater facility and readiness than the unbending Mussulman himself.

Persian was in fact the language of the court and of the cabinet, and the high road to distinction and to wealth. With it, sanctioned by the stamp and title of official importance, and hallowed in the eyes of the Mahomedan population by the ennobling associations of conquest and dominon, no vernacular language could for a moment hope to vie. No doubt, Bengali was ordinarily used, even in writing, by the middle classes on unimportant occasions. A village agent wrote his petition, or a zemindar's head man might keep the day book of the estate, in

this despised and neglected medium. But even this sort of Bengali was much more characterized by an infusion of Persian, than it is at present. We have seen sunnuds, registered in the year 1780, and consequently of much older date, where the characters indeed were Bengali, but where not one single word in a sentence, except the concluding verb, was anything else than the most unmixed Persian. In Persian, to be brief, was everything transacted that savoured of dignity, of judicial forms, or of complimentary address.

It may therefore be asserted with correctness that if the Bengali language be several hundred years old, its scanty literature is not of older date than a century: and within the space of one hundred years, what eastern nation can be fairly expected to create for itself a permanent literature? Still, a passing notice of some of the books usually read in Bengali by either natives or Europeans, may not be out of place. We commence with a work known under various appellations in every country, where fables are listened to with pleasure, or recited with effect.

The character of the Hitopadesha is well known from the original, or from some one of its numerous translations, offshoots and paraphrases. A minute analysis of its contents is therefore needless. But, like most imitations, it has considerably degenerated in the hand of the translator. To say nothing of the style, which is often inundated with Sanskrit forms, and therefore proportionately vicious, the matter has deteriorated as regards elegance, simplicity, and worth. Allusions already indelicate, have become more coarse. Anecdotes, eminently characteristic of eastern social life, are marked by a broader cast, and by more repugnant features. We miss also the quaint simplicity of those Sanskrit couplets, which pointed the moral, contained the scope and essence of the tale, gave additional force to the exhortations of a confidential adviser, and deterred the king himself from some contemplated evil deed. We are, in short, losers by the exchange. We have gained the iron armour of Diomede for the precious gold of Glaucus.

The Tota Itihas, or Tales of a Parrot, deserve notice, as well from their style, as their subject. An adaptation of the Persian Toti-namah, it is not restricted to words of pure Sanskrit origin, but contains a large admixture of Persian; and, as such, affords a fair specimen of the colloquial style. But the frame work of the book is more remarkable than its language. Maimun and Khojesta are two young persons, possessed of everything that can give a charm to married life. Maimun, the husband,

has occasion to journey to a far country, and leaves as the confidential advisers of his wife, a Mynah and a Parrot. In her lord's absence the heart of Khojesta is not proof against the seductions of a handsome young Rajput, and she is on the point of falling a victim to temptation. The Mynah, for giving unseasonable advice in unpleasant language, is summarily dashed to the ground. The Parrot takes warning by the untoward fate of his companion, and endeavours to keep his mistress in the paths of rectitude, not by pointed injunctions, but by a device similar to that which Scheherazade in the Arabian Nights employs to hinder the Sultan from sacrificing a fresh victim on every succeeding day. He gives advice the very opposite of what he intends, and illustrates it, either by a long tale, or by the conduct of personages just sufficiently explained to awaken curiosity. The story is spun out, and Khojesta listens, until the night is too far spent to allow execution of her design. The sequel may be imagined. The device is attended with complete success, and in the end, the husband returns to find the honour of his home inviolate.

The Purush Parikhya, or "trial of a man," is a translation of a Sanskrit work. It contains a series of moral tales, but is gradually falling into neglect, and is well nigh out of date.

In the Prabodh Chundrika, or "moonlight of intelligence," the student may range at will over all kinds of Bengali from the highest to the lowest: from sentences so studded with Sanskrit combinations as to be almost unintelligible to those who have not learnt the older language, down to vulgar abuse and colloquial freedoms, such as could hardly be understood, save by those who have frequently conversed with porters, fishermen, and quarrelsome old women.

The Batris Singhasan, or thirty-two thrones, may demand a little longer notice. It relates to Vikramaditya, a sovereign to whose age Hindu tradition loves to refer everything marvellous or dimly great. Indra, pleased with this king's excellent conduct, presents him with a throne. This throne, adorned with thirty-two images, is carried to the monarch by the god of air. When Vikramaditya is killed in fight with Salivahana, this precious gift is buried by the ministers, and for a long time remains hidden. Many years afterwards, a ryot, cultivating his paternal acres, discovers that, when sitting on a platform in the midst of his field, he becomes endowed with the qualities of great discernment and decision. By the order of Bhoj, the reigning monarch of the country, the ground is dug up, and the lost throne duly discovered. When the king, in the midst of a large circle of courtiers, is about to take his seat

there, the first image informs him, that without Vikramaditya's qualities he is unworthy to occupy Vikramaditya's throne. Explanation ensues; and a story is told by each one of the thirty-two images in succession, illustrative of the former king's great or good qualities, and implying that a worthy successor to him has not yet been born amongst the sons of men. The style of this work is good, and its form and scope are no infelicitous examples of the tales which captivate the eastern imagination.

The other current Bengali works may be summarily dismissed. The life of Raja Krishna Chundra Rai is an account of the ancestor of the present Rajah of Nuddea, intermingled with such pleasant fictions as the fancy of the compiler might suggest. The "Light of knowledge" and the "Sea of knowledge," are each, a series of moral tales, abounding like all other oriental works, in truisms but at times displaying a considerable power of language. To Bengali poetry we may make some allusion further on.

With the exception of a few other works, and of sundry ephemeral publications,* the above are really the only books, which can be said to make up the Bengali literature. Amongst the whole number, there is no single one which can even pretend to an equality with the Urdu work, the Bagh-o-bahar. It is in fact just such a literature as we might expect from a people, who, for one series of years, saw in Sanskrit, a vehicle for thought and a fancied repository for knowledge, with which other created languages could never compete; and, for another series, transferred their admiration to Persian, as the only road to emolument and to worldly honour. Had a combination of events secured for England a similar blind servility, first to Latin and then to French, we might, at this day, have been in the possession of a strong and masculine language. But we should certainly have wanted at least one-half of our rich and varied literature.

From this barren and uninteresting part of our subject we turn to trace the present boundaries of the spoken language. They are mainly as follows. Bengali is the medium of conversation, partly, if not entirely, in no less than twenty-three districts of the Lower Provinces. With a few slight and unim-

* The number of these is far too considerable for separate notice, although their aggregate is not quite a literature. There have been published in Bengali, Histories of Greece, Rome, and England, Histories of Bengal and India, Yates's dialogues on Natural Philosophy, Ancient Histories, numerous Tracts and Pamphlets printed by the Calcutta School Book Society, Tract Society, Serampore and Assam and other presses, and the Encyclopædia Bengalensis, by the Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerji, a work which is decidedly a step in the right direction, and the style of which is good, although there is room we think for improvement in the books selected for translation.

portant variations of grammar, it is also spoken all over Assam. Assamese is in fact a mere form of Bengali, without any original or distinct characteristics of its own. To the south of Midnapore, the river Subhanrika forms a natural boundary between Bengali and Uriya. To the west of the above district and of Bancoorah, the country, no longer alluvial, is scantily populated, and overrun with jungle. Bengali is however spoken in Maunbhúm; but to the south it is soon met by the language of the Coles, which prevails in Singbhúm, and north and west, by Hindi. In Monghir it ceases altogether; in Dinagepore and part of Purneah it is still Bengali: in the northern part of Purneah it is Urdu. To the east and north, the hills generally form a physical boundary of their own, where dialects are spoken which have nothing in common with the great languages of the Peninsula. Thus the Garrows to the north of Mymensing, and the Cossiahs at Jynteah and Cherra Poonji, are severally distinguished by their barbarous and uncouth jargon, their savage rites, and their unapproachable squalor. In Chittagong, the most south-eastern of our regulation districts, Bengali is not much spoken to the north of the Sitakund range of hills, nor southward, at all beyond the river Naf. In the former case it is met by a confusion of dialects, and in the latter by Mug, the language of Arracan. The tide of Mohammedan invasion has here left marks of its passage not eradicated to this day. The whole spoken or written language is largely intermixed with Persian. One-half of the petitions presented in the courts are drawn up in this language. Any slight smattering of education, based on indigenous principles, is by the native acquired in the form of Persian; and, from this and other causes, the Bengali of Chittagong is the most impure, and the hardest of comprehension, of that in use anywhere.

The language is spoken with considerable elegance and propriety by many classes in Calcutta itself, and in several districts adjoining the metropolis, as Hooghly, Jessore, Burdwan, Pubna, and Rajshahye. But the best form will probably be found in Nuddea, where reminiscences of ancient Brahminical learning contribute to preserve the language in its purity and strength. Variations of style in the several districts, though here and there remarkable, do not take the wide range taken by the language of Upper India. Strange local words for the commonest things will of course now and then fill an enquiring philologist with astonishment, and vagaries in pronunciation may grate on his offending ear. In Chittagong the sound is nasal: in Assam, guttural: in Sylhet, more labial: in the Sunderbunds, more palatal: and in all the eastern districts the

sh is invariably pronounced as *h*. The sibilant letter is unconsciously elided. In some places the negative is placed not the last word of the sentence, as the grammar requires, but the last but one: and in others the conditional is employed as the present tense. In all this the slight importance of dialectic, as compared with essential differences of language, must ever be borne in mind. The former are mostly confined to conversation, and excluded from correspondence and books. A familiar illustration of this peculiarity is at hand in the Scotch. A man, born north of the Tweed, will often, in writing English, prove himself master of the language in all its fullness and precision, and yet disfigure it, in speaking, by a Doric pronunciation, and by unauthorized Scotticisms.

If some men, who acquire any new language, believe, with Coleridge, that they are thus adding another string to their bow, many will naturally inquire what equivalent they are likely to gain for the time and labour expended in the acquisition. Here an opportunity presents itself for the examination of the advantages resulting from, and the facilities for acquiring, a thorough knowledge of any eastern or western tongue. It is obvious that the reward in either case is soonest appreciated on the spot where the language is spoken. A man travelling up the Rhine, and a man travelling up the Ganges, if unacquainted with the prevailing medium of conversation, are both equally sensible of their own disadvantages, and equally anxious to remove them. The one feels as helpless, if unable to ask his way to the nearest Hof, as the other, if incapable of finding out the road to the adjoining bazar. To both the intrinsic merits of either language are nothing in comparison with the paramount importance of speaking it with ease. The most elegant, and the most barbarous dialects are so far on equal terms. But how different their value, when local exigencies are no longer felt! Hundreds, who never travel, or who have travelled never to do so again, will continue to derive pleasure, increased at each perusal, from the sparkling lyrics of Germany, from the dark mazes of Italian History, from that pulpit eloquence, which struck terror to the hearts of profligate courtiers, or, round the grave of the departed great, melted an admiring audience to tears. But the most ardent philologist, his travels once over, can scarcely hope to derive any lasting satisfaction from the study of languages spoken in India, beyond that of tracing out the offshoots of some great original, or of marking the connection between manners, morals, and speech. Thus to a man whose vocation is not on eastern ground, or who has no desire to map out the divisions of spoken tongues, time

spent on the languages of India, whether of the north or south of the Peninsula, is time thrown away. However interesting as the repository of much that is curious or ancient, a language without a permanent literature is a blank. We have often doubted whether most to admire, or to condemn, the conduct of the French Government, which, with two insignificant settlements in India, instituted in the metropolis a chair of the Urdu language, and appointed to it a man of such ability as M. Garcin de Tassy. However meritorious may be the desire to extend discoveries in philology, or to promote Asiatic researches generally, we must think that hours, spent in attendance on that gentleman's lectures, are to the Parisian youth mere hours of idleness. Without some one direct object, connected with the main business of life, a language studied solely for words can never bestow an adequate return. The occupation may excite curiosity, quicken the powers of comparison, and exercise the memory: but it can never expand the imagination, or elevate the heart.

Whilst, however, discarding all idea of comparing two subjects, where no fair room for comparison exists, our attention has been forcibly drawn to the respective facilities for studying Eastern or Western languages, when learnt for themselves, and in the countries of their birth. Never has the contrast between the Asiatic and the European systems of progression been so signally displayed: in nothing will the scholar be better able to trace the opposite course taken by the sons of Japhet and the sons of Shem. We will suppose a young man endeavouring to master, on the spot, any one European language, French, German, the language of Tasso, or the language of Milton. The masterpieces of each are necessarily his daily study, and their beauties are explained to him by teachers competent to remove difficulties, and to smooth the way. But his progress is not merely that which the perusal of books can give, nor his observation limited to the daily task or the morning conversation. The outward world, the world of the pleasure-seeker, or of the man of business, is to him full of incident and instruction. No blazing sun, nor uncongenial climate prevents his wanderings in high-way and street: no jealous temple closes its doors at his approach. The commonest stroll, the merest saunter, are not without their lesson. Everywhere the traces of busy, restless, fervent civilization force themselves on his eye. There is something to be learnt from the inscriptions on every shop, from the very names of the streets, from the placards calling attention to new modes of acquiring or spending money, or to new discoveries in utilitarian science. In the general, or the

expensive and the artificial, amusements of the nation, there is even more, that, while it gives conversancy with the idiom, bestows activity on the intellect, and refinement on the taste. Language will be set forth in its purest and most attractive dress. The theatre or the assembly may correct anything unorthodox or low. The gentleman-scholar will listen, now to the accents of Kean in Hamlet, now to those of Rachel in Phédre, or will hang breathless on the most magnificent of tenors pouring out his cadences in the most harmonious of southern languages. At one time his attention may be attracted to some mountebank at an English fair, or to a chattering Charlatan in the Champs-Elysées, or to a *contatore di fatti* on the mole at Naples. At another his ear may be charmed by those rustic melodies which delighted Sir Francis Head at the Brunnens of Nassau: or by the purity and elegance with which, on the boards of the Français or the Odéon, are vociferated the splendid declamations of Corneille or of Racine. As he runs he may read. There is no time or locality from which he may not gather something; and no social habits are so dissimilar, as to inspire disdain, or to repel curiosity. Reading corrects sight, and sight corroborates study. The impress of refined civilisation and bustling commerce is everywhere; and by the combined influence of reading, of meditation, and of constant intercourse with an active and an intellectual population, his speech rapidly acquires fluency, his utterance force, and his ear precision.

How different in India! In some of her large towns the marks of advancing civilization are eminently Saxon: in others, replete with the activity of the native mass, the footsteps of Europeans are only seen at intervals. Many causes combine to prevent that constant motion, that perpetual intercourse, otherwise natural to the travelling Englishman, and necessary to bestow familiarity with a nation's customs and speech. A fierce sun, of which the virulence is however much over-rated, a scorching wind, or a drenching rain, are with many sufficient obstacles to life in the open air. With others a confirmed routine of existence, or a regular residence in a circle, transplanted as it were from the west, and instinct with European notions, effectually remove the native world from the sight and the mind. Even those, who persist in seeking daily intercourse with the population of the country, labour under great and acknowledged disadvantages. Traces of the civilization which overflows everywhere, and speaks not merely to the thought but to the eye, are nowhere to be met. It has left no memorials in the cultivated plain: it never ferments in walled cities or in the long

lines of the bazaar. A great barrier, too, stands between the European and the native crowd assembled for the celebration of some social or festive rite. We recognise the marriage procession only by the flickering torches, and the discordant music: the scenic representations, which might faintly have recalled to us the days when the drama of Kalidasa was acted before a kingly audience, are commuted into an extravagant Púja, or a miserable nautch: we are only reminded of the funeral ceremony by the exposed dying, or by the light of the pyre. Some, it is true, may through "the cold medium of books," have acquired a certain knowledge of the social world of the Hindu and the Mussulman: but even these, from imperfect opportunities or from actual distaste, may never have gone forth to see whether books reported aright, or how far old customs had yielded to innovation. Others again, who, in spite of all natural or adventitious obstacles, have freely mingled with natives of all ranks, possess no book lore, and want the precision of language which writing and reading alone can bestow. Thus there is no combination of resources: the opportunities for acquiring a thorough knowledge of idiom are neither full nor varied: we cannot readily embrace all the features of native life, as it appears in business, in books, in amusement, in the palace, and in the hut. We cannot at once tell by what desires the great mass of the population is oftenest actuated. Their commonest hopes, their daily fears, the secrets of their household, their habitual cast of thought, are known to us by distorted views. Our speech to them is rarely that of persons thinking in the language which they employ.

A consideration of the above differences must not be thought to imply that facilities for gaining an accurate knowledge of Indian languages do not exist. To those undeterred by climate, or by the strange aspect of Hindu life, they may be met with in sufficient abundance. A white face will be found to command an audience, whether invested with actual authority, or relying only on the irresistible influence, which is more or less the peculiar right of every European. So far from fleeing at his approach, the native population will come to him in shoals. So far from finding the ryot difficult of access, Europeans will, after a short time, find it difficult to repress their eager advances. The story of their wants and wishes will then be rapidly delivered. The tale of suffering at the hands of harsh landlords, or that inflicted by the vicissitudes of the seasons, will be forthcoming, on the slightest enquiry, or on the manifestation of the commonest interest. The story of meditated torture, of plundered crops, of insulted personal honour, will be retailed

with every shade of variation, and by all members of the lower classes. It will be the burden of complaint from the mouth of garrulous old age, from lusty manhood that might be capable of something beyond mere lamentation, from winning infancy, from that sex, which, pertinacious in all countries and fixed in the pursuit of one cherished object, is never more pertinacious than in the plains of Bengal. On these occasions, the better parts of the native character, their assiduity and quickness, will come out in relief. The genuine idiom, the shades of thought best seen in the turns of the language, and in accents untutored by aught but self-interest, may then be known and appreciated. Opportunities can thus be extended and improved: much can be learnt by frequenting the large *hauts* held in a cleared space near some fine old village trees, and much more by a day spent in those field pursuits which the Englishman introduces with him everywhere, in beating up the jungle, or in exploring the jheel.

It is so often said, that a correct knowledge of the language is essential to the discharge of public duties, that no one for a moment presumes to question the truth of the saying. Exceptions in favour of men, who have distinguished themselves without great conversancy with the languages, prove nothing to the contrary. Such have been good men in spite of their disadvantages, and would have been even more efficient with greater facility to themselves, had these disadvantages been removed. It might almost be said, that a clear insight into native character is almost inseparable from readiness of comprehension and fluency of speech. The Bengali language carries with it a strong impress of nationality. This is repeatedly seen in the common talk of the ryots. The unchanging spirit of Hinduism is apparent, as well in language, as in religious rites or distinctions of caste. In the mixed dialect employed by thousands of Ryots, the attention will often be arrested by old Sanskrit terms, as fresh from the mint, we might say, as if issued yesterday. There is in truth no explaining the vagaries of tongues. Some Sanskrit words, to all appearance portable and convenient, have been entirely discarded in favour of the Persian; others, well nigh synonymous, have manfully maintained their ground. Nothing but practice can enable a foreigner to decide which stock of words he shall use. An Englishman, speaking the Bengali language, as he had learnt it from books or from Pundits, will, in the course of one sentence, employ, we will say, a dozen word of the Sanskrit stock: one-half of these will be readily apprehended by ryots, as used by themselves in daily conver-

sation; the other half, of the same length and sound, will be as unintelligible to them as Hebrew or Greek.

To speak the language familiar to a ryot's ear, we should endeavour to use not exactly that which would be employed by educated natives, who had studied Vyakaran, and who wished to impress listeners with the philosophical nature of their talk: nor again that made-up of the style and substance of documents current in the courts. The idiom and the mixture of Persian should be assimilated to that in use with *mudis* and bunnias, village gomashtahs, and owners of ten acres. This rule, judiciously observed, will give that happy medium, which the highest need not disdain to adopt, nor the most humble be unable to comprehend. The ryot's talk will then afford a curious index to his general habits and feelings. He will not be able to tell an enquirer either his own age or that of his father, and that of his eldest child only by a guess: he may not know the day of the month or of the week, nor how long it is to the ensuing Dúrga Púja: his idea of dates may be limited to the year of the "great flood," or of the "great famine;" he will be as liberal in computing the distance to the nearest thannah or bazar, as any Scotch peasant in his native hills: in one district, he will estimate journeys by the kos, elongated or abbreviated at will: in another, he will be ignorant of any other measurement than the ebb and flow of the tides, or the still more unsatisfactory data of reaches or turns of the river: in a third, for the common bigah he will substitute, like the old Saxon, the word plough: and every where he will display a most provoking inaccuracy in all things connected with the divisions of time.

On the other hand, the ryot will sometimes be found to display knowledge where least expected, and accuracy where greater capacities would be puzzled. No Bengali ryot ever for a moment mistakes one of the four quarters of the heaven for another; and in the description of distant localities, such as the village cutcherry where he was dragged to pay his rent, or the zemindar's house where he was in confinement for six weeks, he will set down relative bearings with the minuteness of a map. The sun, it must be remembered, is in Bengal the great regulator of time. In a country where no village chimes warn the labourer of the decline of day, it must guide and control all the movements of man. For months it is never clouded, and an agricultural population can soon learn, not merely to remember the quarters of its rising and setting, but also to estimate the space for which it will remain above the horizon.

It must also be borne in mind, that a tendency to observe changes in the elements is natural to a people, whose bodily health, or whose means of subsistence may be seriously affected by an unexpected wind, or an unseasonable shower. Anxiety on these points is natural, when a slight variation in the compass may bring relief from a destroying epidemic, or fertilizing showers after a long continued drought. In elementary phenomena the science of the ryot is by no means backward: nor is his knowledge in terms of relationship less worthy of note. The Bengali language literally teems with words indicative of different degrees of affinity. Relations or connections, to express which, European languages must have recourse to a long periphrasis, are designated in Bengali by one single word. Nor are these distinctions limited to the closer ties. It is not merely that the uncle by the father's or the mother's side, the brother's or the sister's son, can be told at a glance;—the love of minute distinction extends to the most distant ramifications of the family tree. A single short word is sufficient to express the individual who has married your father's elder brother, and two, the cousin whom we should designate as the son of your father's sister. In describing the various members of his family the ryot is never at a loss for the exact term. Nor has he, in truth, any doubt as the dates on which his instalments of rent are due: he will have a general recollection, that the Hooli falls when the cold weather crop is gathering, and that the great festival of Durga happens soon after the last cart-load of the early rice has been stored in the garner. Amongst many expressive and characteristic phrases the common use of one is too curious to be omitted. We all know that eastern nations are not distinguished by any remarkable adherence to truth, and the Bengalis form no exception to the general want of veracity. Now, the word used by all to designate a falsehood is *mithya*, which can be employed either as a substantive, an adjective, or an adverb. But its use is not limited to denounce the lie direct. It is applied indiscriminately, and with no inconsiderable effect, to anything remarkable for incompleteness, inefficiency, or unsoundness. In this way, we have heard it employed to designate an incapable public functionary, a road in disrepair, a tank of little depth, rain that hardly lays the dust, a shot that misses its mark, a decayed embankment, a bridge in ruins, and a fool's errand.

It is one peculiarity of Bengali, that, in the Lower Provinces, it is the language not only of the Hindu, but of the Mussulman population. A highly educated Mahommedan will, of course, have studied either Persian or Arabic, or both, and in conversa-

tion will adopt the polished Urdu. But the bulk of Mussulman ryots not only talk but write in Bengali. Replete as the language is with Hindu associations, with idolatry, and with all that a true believer should hold in abhorrence, it has yet been adopted by him, as the medium of conversation, and the vehicle of his scanty lore. A village agent, who pretends to just as much scholarship as will serve to pen a letter, pens it in Bengali. For once the Hindu system, opposed as it is to extension, appears to have made a proselyte. Although it is easy to detect a Mussulman by his talk, owing to a greater use of Persian words, yet in some points the said Mussulman appears half a Hindu. He pretends occasionally to distinction of caste. He names his children after the gods of Hindu mythology, and the heroes of the Mahabharat. It is not uncommon to hear synonymes of Krishna applied to whole Mussulman families, with the mere prefix of "Sheik" to distinguish them from Hindus of the same name, resident in the neighbouring village. It is even common to hear a Mahommedan apply terms, peculiar to Hindu politics or theology, to his own system of morals and religion. We have listened to Mussulman ryots, who, with the greatest complacency, talked about their Dharma, and their Shastras, used indiscriminately the familiar exclamations of Hari Bol, and Allah Karim, and, in reply to a question as to the punishment for falsehood, answered, according to the well-established Hindu formula, that a liar would descend with fourteen generations of his family, seven that go before and seven that come after him, to the lowest depths of Naraka. This is about as orthodox as if a Puritan of the Commonwealth had been heard to descant on the worship of images and the intercession of saints. But with the converse of this practice we have never met: we do not imagine that the lowest caste of Hindus ever discourse upon the "ennobled Koran," or the pleasures of Bihisht. The above facts may reasonably be supposed to argue, for the Bengali language, an inherent facility of adaptation, and a tenacity not easily displaced from its hold. The truth is that the Mussulman of Lower Bengal is rather a degraded being. Ordinarily he cannot compete with the Hindu in acuteness or activity. As an accountant his inferiority is universally acknowledged: in reading and writing with fluency and correctness he is far behind hand: and to other causes of degradation he is often found to unite a pride in his own ignorance and a glorying in his own sloth.

A cursory view of the Bengali language and literature naturally leads to examination of the degree to which the literature, such as it is, is known and appreciated by the million. In

this, some remnants of the old spirit re-appear. But it is the poetry, and not the prose, to which the mass are attached; and of the poetry, it is the older tales alone. Thousands of ryots have never heard of Kalidasa or his works, and could not tell the name of any one of the "nine gems." But those, to whom the Fatal ring, and the Toy cart remain sealed mysteries, are well aware of the changes of fortune experienced by Rama and by Ravana, by Draupadi and by Sita. It is true, that the vernacular translations of the old Sanskrit poems bear about as great a resemblance to their originals, as Hudibras or the Bath Guide to Dryden or to Homer. But lowered, transformed, or curtailed, they are still the staple literary material of the multitude. They are read in old tattered volumes, and in more primitive wooden tablets: or they are recited to the unlearned by some more gifted individual of the family, with explanations and additions, after the close of the evening meal. Every marvellous incident, every passage of interest, a blow well struck, a warrior's vow, a priest's curse, the gift of a pleased divinity to some favoured mortal, the reward of endurance, the punishment of sin, as set down in the two great epics of Hindu antiquity, are familiar to those who till the ground, and to those who ply the loom. Weavers and agriculturists, bearers and bunneahs, the attendants of Rajahs and the so-called village mediciners, can all recite the main plot in each of these narratives. The abduction of Sita, the rescue of Draupadi, Hanuman's army of apes, Rama's bridge over the straits of Pamban, the combustible house of pitch for the destruction of the Pandavas, the ambiguous announcement of the five brothers as they brought home their bride "mother, we have brought you alms," and the parent's fatal reply "then share it amongst you," the colloquy of the man hero and the God Krishna in the presence of the rival armies, the unerring bow of Arjun, and the weighty mace of Bhima, are things as well known to thousands of ryots in Bengal, as the tales of Wallace and the Black Douglas to those born North of the Border, or as Robinson Crusoe to the tenants of an English nursery. In these are contained all their ideas of History, of theology, and of morals. They have no other chronology but what these vague romances can furnish. From them are derived any notions they may have conceived, as to the splendour of Hindu courts, or the long succession of Hindu dynasties. At all times they are ready to converse on these favourite subjects; and they listen to them, oft-repeated, with that affectionate interest, which a narrative must awaken, disfigured indeed by many gross and improbable exaggerations, but marked by seve-

ral genuine touches of nature, and by remnants of that manliness, which, after thirty centuries, still finds a direct entrance into the hearts of a nation.

The above stories are well known to all who pretend to the slightest smattering of education, and to very many who can neither handle a pen, nor tell a single letter of the alphabet. But those not of the poorest class pretend to education of a somewhat higher character. It is well known, that a number of Sanskrit couplets are current in Bengal to the present day. Some are to be found in books, and others nowhere. But, written or unwritten, they are handed down from father to son by oral repetition. Quaint and sententious, they contain either reflections on man's condition or rules for guidance in critical positions of life. They are to be heard from the mouth of the humblest writer on eight rupees a month, or from the village barber who has never been twenty miles from home. They are recited with sundry mutilations, and with only a general conception of their meaning on the part of the reciters: but their prevalency is indisputable. Many of these couplets have, we perceive, been collected by Dr. Hæberlin, and published in his Anthology: and with slight alterations, which only tend to prove their universality, we have heard them in localities, where printing presses and books were entirely unknown. In the absence of a regular system of education, or of any compendious code of ethics, verses like these, dinned into the ears of the young from their earliest days, must have a certain effect on the character. Such of them as are most free from the indelicacy, which is one genuine characteristic of eastern productions, we have selected for the judgment of our readers. No doubt, amongst nations left to the guidance of their own reason, codes have been promulgated, in which the great and unchanging rules of morality were admirably laid down. A Roman of the days of Augustus, who could place a copy of Cicero's "de officiis" in the hands of his young son, or one of the age of the Antonines, who could expound to his family the Manual of Epictetus, would not have been leading them far away from the paths of rectitude and truth. But what must be the effect of maxims, which here and there are correct, but which at times treat honour and friendship as idle names, which inculcate the pursuit of wealth as the main object of man's existence, and which loudly proclaim the female heart to be one tissue of deceit? We shall endeavour to give the translations with as close an adherence as possible to the quaint impressiveness of the original. Some of the couplets may be recognised as those of well known authors, though it is

not to printing, that they owe their currency; but for others, we believe, manuscripts and books would be explored in vain.

"The ornament of planets is the moon: of women the orna-
' ment is their husband: the King is the ornament of the earth:
' learning is an ornament everywhere.

"That mother is an enemy, that father is a foe, by whom the
' child is not educated: such shine not in the midst of the as-
' sembly, just like common cranes in the midst of geese.

"A man should make his son play for five years: for ten,
' he should correct him: when his son has attained his sixteenth
' year, he should treat him as a friend.

"The man who stands by you in the day of feasting and in
' the day of calamity, in famine and in war, at the King's
' gate and at the repository for the dead, that man is a
' friend.

"A man should not trust another who has not been trusted:
' even a friend he must not take into confidence: at times a
' friend, when angered, may let out all your faults.

"A man should root out an enemy by another enemy called
' in to aid: just as he would take out a thorn in the foot by a
' thorn in the hand.

"A bad man with fair words is no cause for confidence:
' honey is on the tip of his lips, and in his heart is deadly
' poison.

"A serpent is cruel: a malignant man is cruel: but a
' malignant man is more cruel than a serpent: a serpent is
' subdued by incantations and drugs: by what is a malignant
' man subdued?

"In creatures with nails, in rivers, in horned animals, in
' those with weapons in their hands, confidence must not be
' placed: nor in women, nor in king's families.

"A man should give up one person for the sake of a family:
' a family for a village: a village for an inhabited country:
' and the whole earth for himself.

"A prudent man should never divulge loss of wealth, or
' inward grief, or bad practices in the household, or knavery, or
' dishonour.

"A man should not fix his residence where there are none
' of these things: a rich man, a man learned in the Vedas, a
' king, a river, and a doctor.

"The wise man should shun a bad country, a bad livelihood,
' a bad wife, a bad river, a bad article, and bad food.

"The man whose field is on the other side of the river,
' whose wife is gone to another man's house, and who has got a
' snake in his dwelling, has got death at every footstep.

"A father who runs into debt is an enemy: so is a mother 'who is dissolute: a handsome wife is an enemy, and so is a 'son who is unlearned.

"The beauty of the koil birds is in their voice: the beauty 'of women is in entire devotion to their husband: learning is 'the beauty of ugly persons: and forbearance the beauty of 'devotees.

"Life without knowledge is barren: barren is the country 'devoid of friends: the house without a male heir is barren; 'poverty is barrenness everywhere.

"Wives are useful for the preservation of posterity: a son 'is useful to give the funeral cake to his father: a friend is 'useful for friendly deeds: wealth is useful everywhere.

"Hard is the livelihood which depends on others: hard is 'the dwelling where there is no refuge, and the profession 'where there is no money; but poverty is the hardest of all.

"Where is the religion of robbers, where is the forbearance 'of a bad man, where is the affection of courtezans, where is 'truth in those inflamed by passion?

"Where is the honour paid to the departed, where is the 'pleasure of anger, where is the excellence of women, and 'where is the malignant's friend?

"The strength of a weak man lies in the king: the strength 'of children is in tears: the strength of a fool is in his saying 'nothing: the strength of thieves is in a lie.

"A man should speak well of food when it is digested, of a 'wife whose youth is passed away, of a hero returned from 'the wars, and of a crop when it is stored in the house.

"A man whose wealth is vast, is to be honoured, even 'though he be the slayer of a Brahmin: a man without wealth 'is despised, though his family be as old as the moon.

"An impossible thing should not be spoken; when it hap- 'pens before the eyes, it is seen: a stone swims in the water: 'an ape sings a song.

"A tree on the banks of a river: wealth in another man's 'possession: a matter known to a woman: all these three 'things must be fruitless.

"What shall talkers do where there are no hearers? in a 'country where the mendicants are naked, what shall the 'washerman do?

"A man who comprehends the meaning of a thing uttered 'once, who is light-handed, who has mastered the alphabet, 'and who has surveyed all the Shastras, is called a first-rate 'clerk."

We might persist in quoting many more, but the general

character of the maxims will be sufficiently seen from the above. That there may be good principles and bad practice in the same society, is obvious enough. But we never yet heard of anything like correct practice without high principles. Doubtless, in these maxims, current with the Hindu population, are several marked by comprehensive views, by liberality, and by truth. Of others the charm will be in their descriptiveness of the state of Bengal at this day. Couplets must possess some attraction which hit off exactly both nature and man. There is undoubtedly something alluring in a verse, which paints with fidelity the objects of dread or ambition to the lower classes of Bengal, the vicissitudes of climate they should most shun, the localities they should mainly select, the arts or endeavours by which they should compass opulence. But the low estimate which other couplets take of human nature, the high praise of riches as paramount in all worldly dealings, and the degraded character of the society in which such maxims are set forth and acted on, require no comment. And we are compelled to state, that, from our chequered selection of good and evil, many have been excluded, which, from their offensive minuteness, their plain dealing, and their gross bestiality, might have emanated from the foul pens of Rousseau or of Swift.

Those, who care to study the Bengali language and character, must study them as they appear in the villages of Bengal. Let them only beware of confounding ignorance with innocence, or of mistaking the waywardness of childhood for that ingenuousness which is its usual accompaniment. They will then find in Bengal much that is repulsive to European notions, many degrading customs, great liveliness of disposition, many failings which alternately excite sympathy and disgust, little of solid comfort, a systematic disregard of law, and no inconsiderable amount of plenty and content.

To improve a language, possessing so many innate good qualities, but hitherto depressed, could not but be an object of anxiety to men who discern in intellectual training one great means of raising the national character. And here it may perhaps be interesting to many, to know the nature of those educational institutions which Bengal had created for herself. Scarcely anything can be lower than the Native standard of vernacular education. Native schools, on purely indigenous principles, exist in every populous village throughout the length and breadth of the land. A miserable hut, inferior to the bullock-house of some substantial ryot, twenty or thirty

naked children, a dominie whose learning is little a-head of the most advanced of his scholars, leaves of the Tal, or of the plantain tree, inscribed with sundry hieroglyphics, severally represent the school-house and the school-master, the students and the materials of their task. The system of instilling knowledge is somewhat as follows. The alphabet is dinned into the ears of the assembled classes, who, by constant recital in the true sing-song fashion peculiar to natives, contrive at length to remember the changes and the combinations of the letters. The alphabet, thus remembered, is traced by the infant hands on the leaves above alluded to, or on the sand which composes the floor. By this process they at length become aware of the powers of written language, and of the simplest rules of syntax and style. Lastly, they learn by rote, a species of set "letter-writers," which may do them service in their profession. This generally consists of a complimentary address, of an enquiry after health, of excuses for rents uncollected, or of a promise for future punctuality. The education, such as it is, is complete without books of any kind. Not a single historical fact, not a particle of general knowledge, not one pointed moral, not even a well-wrought tale, are imparted, in the generality of these institutions, to the rising youth of Bengal. Provided with a regular unvarying model for letter-writing, and with the simplest rules of arithmetic, they pick up, as best they may, the old-wives stories about Rama and Ravana, and the score or two of Sanskrit couplets, which complete their education. Can there be a more lamentable picture of neglect in early youth, or can we wonder at complaints of indifference to the vernacular tongue?

It was partly to remedy these and other evils, that Lord Hardinge introduced his measure of the hundred and one vernacular schools. The scope of this plan has been misunderstood, both by the Native and the European community. It was never intended that Government should establish a school-master in every opulent bazar in Bengal, or invite the sons of all respectable ryots to learn reading and writing at the expense of the state. Nor was it intended, that these somewhat primitive institutions should render the study of English superfluous, to such as had the time or the talents necessary for the acquirement of the same. The object of Government was to exhibit a practical proof of its desire to extend education to the million, in the only form in which the million could receive it. It was to assert the superiority of the peon, who could read and write, over his comrade who could do neither. It

was desirable also to raise the standard of vernacular education everywhere, to place at the head of these schools a teacher with more claims to the appellation, than are possessed by the miserable village Guru, and to supplant the letter-writing, the sand-floor, and the tal leaves, by printed books, by elementary histories, and by moral tales. As might have been expected, great obstacles, natural and created, were found to obstruct the success of the scheme. Opposition variously took the form of rigid adherence to old habits, or of greedy hankering for the novelty of English schools. Men were found to prefer schools without books, and a master remunerated by donations of rice, to the neat dwelling erected by the zemindar under the Collector's approval, and to the Pundit paid from the coffers of the treasury. In one district, a bigotted and distrustful population would have nothing to do with education fostered by Government influence. In another, old men, ambitious of deputy magistracies and collectorships for their offspring, called out lustily for English, and despised the vernacular. Here repugnance was exhibited to the agent by whom education was promoted, and there to the form in which it was conveyed. Other mishaps were found to occur, even where the scheme was fairly started. At one place, the fragile school-house was blown down by a tornado. At another, it was commenced and left with its walls half-standing. A third was opened, and given up within the year. This school was never visited at all by the collector: at that, he found on his arrival an incompetent Pundit, and a set of unruly scholars. What with apathy on the part of the ryots, obstacles thrown out by zemindars of the old or the new school, want of internal communication and of qualified teachers, and a supervision necessarily defective or irregular, this measure, liberally conceived, and in many instances carried out with energy and judgment, has been crowned with only partial success in Bengal, and, in Behar, has been well nigh a total failure. Still, while it is the acknowledged practice to assert the capability of the Bengali language, and the necessity for vernacular education, a Government of enlarged and comprehensive views is quite justified in perseverance. A demand for Bengali may, in the end, create a supply of efficient masters; and in any case, it will be evident, that the philanthropy of men high in place is reserved, not merely for the metropolis and its neighbourhood, but is extended to the village and their jungles.

The above may be taken as one indication of the present degraded condition of Bengali literature. Another, by no

less important, may be found in the excessively faulty style current in public courts. In a country, where litigation is to some as daily bread, and where every man occasionally employs the arm of the law against his fellow, the dialect of courts must have no common currency, and no little effect on style. The law language has been subjected to a diversity of agencies, and it was to be expected, that Persian, though exploded by regulation, would still maintain its ground in technicalities, familiar by long use to a population invariably prone to discussion and disputes. On the other hand, it was matter for calculation, that, in the spread of the purer Bengali, many old Sanskrit terms would be introduced by ambitious clerks, and jar with the language of Mussulman invaders. A rare mixture has accordingly been formed. In the same sentence of a court-proceeding will be found terms of the most opposite and irreconcileable sources. The phraseology of Manu, and that of Abu Hanifa, the flowing diction of Abul Fazl, and the blunt expressions of village Punchayats, will be heard jostling each other in the same elaborate decision. But it is not to this, that we lay the blame of faultiness in style. Law language must be peculiar anywhere. English law papers may exhibit a mixture of various dialects, and may recall at a glance the several periods of Saxon, Norman, and Roman literature. It matters not, so that the composite language has been sanctioned by long usage, and is comprehensible in the locality where it is employed, and to those whom it concerns. If Baillie McWheeble could talk in the same sentence about annexis and connexis, and infang, and outfang, we have no objection here to the amicable unison of terms drawn from the Shastras, and terms drawn from the Koran. But we protest violently against bad grammar and slip-slop orthography, to say nothing of wordiness of style. These last faults are found in public offices to an almost incredible degree. Not one employée in twenty can pen a line, without half a dozen gross mistakes in spelling, such as would be a disgrace to a student of the second class in any zillah school. Ten out of twelve will persist in the use of set phrases, which mean the very opposite to that which they are intended to express. The same number will clumsily affix forms of the Persian and the Arabic plural to nouns of essentially Sanskrit origin; or, will foist in an inflected term of Sanskrit grammar, merely, because it sounds grand, and because they are utterly unable to conceive its correct signification. And nearly all will delight in using a long turgid style, without proper breaks or pauses in each sentence, without resemblance to any

kind of decent Bengali, either written or spoken; a style which can only be interpreted by the person who penned the paper, and sometimes not even by him.

From the above picture of a scanty literature, a vile court dialect, and a neglected vernacular, which we have endeavoured to set forth in all honesty of purpose, the present lamentable state of Bengali may be conceived. There are not half a dozen standard works, which can be perused twice with patience. There is indifference to the vernacular amongst the mass, and an undue preference for English amongst the more enlightened of the rising generation, who, however, can hardly be censured for applying themselves to a language, hitherto the main road to competence or distinction. But, we still maintain our first position, that Bengali exhibits great capabilities of improvement. Its chief good qualities are freedom from intricacy of syntax, and its forcible expressions. That syntax must indeed be lucid, where a sentence is often complete without the use of a verb. Nor can that language be ever termed weak, which can command all the choicest parts of Sanskrit, without its endless re-duplications, and its labyrinth of grammar. But here arises a difficulty of a new kind. Bengali to be made classical, it is said, must be restricted to words wholly of Sanskrit origin. A mixed language can never be termed classical. That epithet is reserved solely for a pure and unmixed style; and to deserve it, the obtrusive Persian must be summarily expelled. With all deference to an opinion either openly avowed, or tacitly sanctioned, we cannot subscribe to this rule, which, of course, excludes, from the written Bengali, every word of Persian, or otherwise foreign origin. Where words of both the Semitic and the Indo-Germanic source are equally available and equally perspicuous, by all means let preference be given to the latter. But to restrict writers to the use of those words, which it is the fashion to term classical, is in the present day, the most ridiculous prudery. Unquestionably, many Persian terms appear out of their element, when dressed up in the Sanskrit or the Bengali character. But, when either a new office or a new event is to be described, which the old Hindu regime never knew of, we must have recourse to the more modern language. When a recently formed state of society has given birth to strange and complicated relations between man and man, where the landmarks of religion, or of manners, or of any national interests, have been forcibly swept away, it is affectation to talk of such changes in a language, from which they are abhorrent, and in which they can never be adequately described.

Speech was made before grammar, and men invented fresh terms before dictionaries were compiled. A language, like all other things of man's daily convenience, must yield to the currrent of public opinion, and the gradual progress of reform. It must be allowed to form and fashion itself. What we require, is the judicious and guiding hand of some really able writer, who, will not refuse the sanction of his name to adventitious phrases, if applicable to the matter under discussion, and who will take care that none are admitted but such as are absolutely necessary. Grant us but this one exception, and we may hope that the care, lavished in dragging forth from obscurity old stiff Sanskrit expressions, will be devoted to the formation of a manly but a mixed style. The ear will not be shocked by the sound of a Persian word, such as Panini or Bhatti never dreamt of, one half so much as by a full-blown epithet, or by an inelegant stiffness, which, for a so called purity, sacrifices elegance and ease. To insist that from the written Bengali style shall be systematically excluded every word unknown in India, up to the inroads of Mahmud of Ghazni, or to the dynasty of the slave kings, is to insist on the retention of a strange dialect, which is familiar to no sensible Hindu of any class; which is never used in business or in pleasure; in which Deeds of Gift, or Sale, or Mortgages, or letters, are never written. No modern society should ever pretend to two different kinds of speech. No nation, that aims at civilization, should endeavour to raise up a barrier between the style in which men think and talk, and that in which they think and write. In writing, men will, of course, always aim at a greater purity and precision than in their common conversation. On the former occasion, many colloquial and undignified expressions will be ejected: abbreviations will not be allowed: and the result will be a composition, more precise, but still essentially the same. This rule has hitherto been discarded. The Sanskrit style, for so we must call it, is that of most books in the language, and of the institutions under government. The common style of Bengali is full, flowing, and composite. Our college essays are for the most part stiff, inelegant, and scrupulously adherent to words of Sanskrit origin. Whilst grandly propounding the doctrines of liberality of thought, and of emancipation from mental slavery, we have given a quiet sanction to the most genuine bigotry, and the most unbending intolerance.

We indulge a hope that all this may be exploded. We shall hope to see the gradual extension of a style of Bengali, still simple in its structure, still mainly dependant on Sanskrit, but

incorporating in its texture such foreign words, as use or necessity may have introduced into conversation. The Bengali language is surely capable of something better, than half a dozen prose works of questionable morality and verbose style. We may look for poetry superior to the common run of Bengali rhymes, which possess all the jingle of nursery stanzas without any of their truth and simplicity, which weary us with one continual chatter about maidens with eyes like the lotus, endless heart-consuming woes, and minds expanded under the influence of pleasure, like flowers expanded under the influence of sunshine. We are not very sanguine, as to the rise of a new literature, which shall give fresh life and vigour to the race, and, for sloth and sensuality, substitute energy, decision, and temperance: but we are confident, that something better is to be made of the fine Bengali language, than the present miserable Bengali literature. Under any circumstances we may hope, for the formation of a good prose style, fitted for scientific discussion, for narrative, and for moral philosophy. The able Editor of Dr. Yates's Bengali Remains goes even a step further, and indulges in the hope of "some noble poetry in the Bengali." The state of the language is in fact at present such, that almost anything could be made of it by one gifted pen. A single individual, who would discard attempts at Sanskrit verbosity, who would not disdain the occasional use of humble and expressive phrases, and also would boldly adopt a Persian term, when it alone could give the exact meaning required, might mould and fashion Bengali into one harmonious and consistent whole. There is no reason, why Bengali should not, in its way, be as mixed and polished, as the mixed and polished Urdu.

Meanwhile, as we write, a new chance appears to have sprung up for the native character, which can hardly be without its effect on language and style. Under the judicious patronage of an European gentleman, some of the native community seem determined for one sustained effort in behalf of the degraded Hindu female. The late President of the Council of Education lent his name to a project for discovering the music latent in the souls of Young Bengal. His successor, though here appearing in a private capacity, appears bent on disproving the disparaging judgment, which old Hindu maxims have passed on the gentler sex. We wish him all success in a scheme, against which has appeared the usual amount of senseless declamation, and intolerant spite. We are, indeed told, by the way, that the voice of instruction has already

spoken in the privacy of Hindu females: but the fruits of such private instruction are nowhere. The present public experiment, if successful, can scarcely fail to produce effects, whose character no one will mistake, and whose operation no private circles shall limit. The day may possibly come, when, in place of attending, like a menial, at the meals of her lord and master, the Hindu lady shall assume her rightful position at the board. The day may come, when instead of counting her armlets, or discussing the qualities of henna or surma, she shall look on a household, adorned with embroidery of her own making, and bearing testimony to that neatness which the presence of woman alone can bestow. She may yet, under separation from her husband, enjoy the pleasure of interchanging thought, and the power of annihilating distance. She may yet fulfil woman's noblest task, and may instil into expanding minds those moral precepts, which, speaking with effect from a parent's mouth at all times, speak with ten-fold force, where to natural authority and influence are united matronly dignity and maternal love.

NOTE.—In this paper we have omitted all notice of the Book, which we have nominally taken as a subject. In this we have availed ourselves of the usual privilege of Reviewers. But it would be injustice not to state, that, in judicious arrangement, in perspicuity, in the chapters devoted to Grammar and familiar sentences, as well as in careful selection from current works, the two volumes, edited by Mr. Wenger, are equal, if not superior to any thing of the kind, we have yet seen attempted for any language.

ART. VII.—*A History of the Sikhs, from the origin of the nation to the battles of the Sutlej; by Joseph Davey Cunnigham, Lieutenant of Engineers and Captain in the Army of India. London,* 1849.

IT is not easy to express, in a few words, our opinion of this book. We cannot speak of it with unmixed commendation, and still less can we bring ourselves to pronounce a condemnatory sentence. It is a work that keeps the judgment of the critic in a constant state of oscillation. Just as he is making up his mind to deliver himself of a favorable verdict, all his kindly resolutions are upset by some offensive passage in the book before him; and, when he was well nigh determined upon a chapter of adverse criticism, a gleam of better things in the historian's pages restores the good humour of the reviewer; and he begins to think that the writer is no great culprit after all.

Captain Cunningham has undertaken the duties of the historian in no light spirit—in no inconsiderate mood. He is fully impressed with the importance of the office; and he has shrunk from no amount of labour. He is a laborious, painstaking writer; and, though very prejudiced and often wrong, manifestly conscientious. There is an air of candour and veracity about all that he says: and whether he utters truths, half truths or, as sometimes happens, untruths, we can not help giving him credit for believing, that everything he says is scrupulously correct. That a book of this nature should excite some disappointment and give some offence, was clearly to be expected. We think very little of the contemporary annals which do not give offence in some quarter, and very little of the historian, who shrinks from giving offence. It is a condition of truth-telling that offence should be given. We honor Captain Cunningham's sincerity and plain-speaking, whilst we deplore their occasional misdirection. He has been led astray by an over-weening anxiety to do justice to our enemies. But while he has done them more than justice; he has done the English less than justice. He is the apologist of the Khalsa; he has written the history of the Sikhs, for the most part as a Sikh historian would write it. He has not regarded the good old maxim, "Be just, before you are generous;" but has suffered his generosity to outstrip his justice, and, whilst succouring his enemies, has despitefully entreated his friends.

To Captain Cunningham's indefatigable industry we bear willing testimony. He has consulted every possible published

authority, and many others unpublished. He has had certain official advantages, which he has not shrunk from turning to account; but we are not sure, that he has not sometimes proved that "a little (official) learning is a dangerous thing," by revealing somewhat more than is known to the public, but less than ought to be known when the revelation is once commenced. He has, in some places, fallen short of the truth, because he has been but partially illuminated, and has drawn hasty conclusions from insufficient premises. What his opportunities have been is well known in this country. He has set them forth in his preface to the present work; and, for the benefit of the European reader and the Anglo-Indian of a future period, we may as well quote the passage wherein he records the services on which he grounds his claims to be accepted as the historian of the Sikhs:—

"Towards the end of the year 1837," he writes, "the Author 'received, through the unsolicited favour of Lord Auckland, the 'appointment of assistant to Colonel Wade, the political agent at 'Lúdiana, and the officer in charge of the British relations with 'the Punjaub and the chiefs of Afghanistan. He was at the 'same time required as an engineer officer, to render Fíroz-'púr a defensible post,—that little place having been declared a 'feudal escheat, and its position being regarded as one of military 'importance. His plans for effecting the object in view met the 'approval of Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief; but it 'was not eventually thought proper to do more than cover the 'town with a slight parapet; and the scheme for reseating Shah 'Shooja on his throne seemed at the time to make the English 'and Sikh Governments so wholly one, that the matter dropped, 'and Fírozpúr was allowed to become a cantonment with 'scarcely the means at hand of saving its ammunition from a 'few predatory horse.

"The Author was also present at the interview which took 'place in 1838, between Runjeet Singh and Lord Auckland. 'In 1839 he accompanied Shahzada Tymúr and Colonel Wade 'to Peshawur; and he was with them when they forced the Pass 'of Khyber, and laid open the road to Caubul. In 1840 he was 'placed in administrative charge of the district of Lúdiana; 'and, towards the end of the same year, he was deputed by the 'new frontier agent, Mr. Clerk, to accompany Colonel Shelton 'and his relieving brigade to Peshawur, whence he returned with 'the troops escorting Dost Mahomed Khan under Colonel 'Wheeler. During part of 1841 he was in magisterial charge 'of the Fírózpúr district, and, towards the close of that year, 'he was appointed — on the recommendation again of Mr.

'Clerk — to proceed to Tibet, to see that the ambitious Rajas 'of Jummú surrendered certain territories which they had seiz- 'ed from the Chinese of Lassa, and that the British trade with 'Ladâkh, &c. was restored to its old footing. He returned at 'the end of a year, and was present at the interviews between 'Lord Ellenborough and Dost Mahomed at Lúdiana, and be- 'tween his lordship and the Sikh chiefs at Fírozpúr in De- 'cember 1842. During part of 1843 he was in civil charge of 'Ambala; but from the middle of that year till towards the close 'of 1844, he held the post of personal assistant to Colonel 'Richmond, the successor of Mr. Clerk. After Major Broadfoot's 'nomination to the same office, and during the greater part of '1845, the Author was employed in the Buhawulpoor territory, in 'connection with refugee Sindhians, and with boundary disputes 'between the Daúdputras and the Rajpúts of Bíkamír and Jey- 'selmír. When war with the Sikhs broke out, the Author was 'required by Sir Charles Napier to join his army of co-opera- 'tion; but after the battle of Phírushuhur, he was summon- 'ed to Lord Gough's Head Quarters. He was subsequently 'directed to accompany Sir Harry Smith, when a diversion was 'made towards Lúdiana, and he was thus present at the skir- 'mish of Buddowal, and at the battle of Alíwal. He had 'likewise the fortune to be a participator in the victory of 'Subraon, and the further advantage of acting on that impor- 'tant day as an aide-de-camp to the Governor-General. He 'was then attached to the head quarters of the Commander-in- 'Chief, until the army broke up at Lahore; when he accom- 'panied Lord Hardinge's camp to the Simlah Hills, prepara- 'tory to setting out for Bhopâl,—the political agency in which 'state and its surrounding districts, his lordship had unex- 'pectedly been pleased to bestow upon him.

"The Author was thus living among the Sikh people for a 'period of eight years, and during a very important portion of 'their history. He had intercourse, under every variety of 'circumstances, with all classes of men, and he had at the same 'time free access to all the public records bearing on the affairs 'of the frontier. It was, after being required, in 1844, to draw 'up reports on the British connection generally with the states 'on the Sutlej, and especially on the military resources of the 'Punjaub, that he conceived the idea, and felt he had the 'means, of writing the history which he now offers to the 'public."

With much scantier official opportunities to boast of, Captain Cunningham might have offered us a history of the Sikhs; and we should never have questioned his title to appear in the

character of their historian. There are few men in India about whose testimonials we should have been less careful to enquire. His patronymic would have been to us, under any circumstances, a sufficient letter of credit. We should have expected a good book from such a quarter, and should have been prepared, without any official introductions, to welcome it with no common cordiality. But we are bound to say, that such expectations, as we based upon the mere personality of Joseph Davey Cunningham, have been disappointed. His book is sadly wanting in the graces of a popular style. There is nothing in it to redeem our Anglo-Indian literature from the reproach, so often cast upon it by our brethren at home, of being characterised by the worst vices of a cumbrous turgid style—a style, that either halts upon crutches, or strides upon stills. In such a style have many books about India been written. Captain Cunningham's is by no means the worst of its class, but it wants ease and fluency. It moves on laboriously. There is nothing spontaneous about it—nothing animated. It is artificial and constrained. There is sometimes, too, a little pedantry about it, as in such a passage as this for instance, which, however, it is fair to add, we find in a note; "The bitter remark of Xenophanes, that if oxen became religious their Gods would be *bovine* in form, is indeed most true, as expressive of a general desire among men to make their divinities *anthropo-morphous*."

In some parts of Captain Cunningham's book the notes exceed the text in bulk, and often in significance. Some of the most pregnant passages in the volume appear in the shape of foot-notes. These notes contain references to the historian's authorities, very precisely given. The references are to all sorts of parliamentary and other official papers, to the writings of Elphinstone, Forster, Malcolm, Prinsep, Murray, Moorcroft, Wilson, Von Hugel, Lawrence, Steinbach,—a host of others—and *ourselves*. The allusions to the *Calcutta Review* are frequent, and, right or wrong, a little more particular than we could wish, or than Captain Cunningham can justify. He has no right to intrude upon the impersonality of the Reviewer, so long as the Reviewer does not exceed his rightful prerogative. The *purdah* of the anonymous, especially in small communities like this, ought to be respected. In private society, no great harm is done, if people attribute the articles in this journal to the Governor General, the Commander-in-Chief, the Bishop, or any other dignified officials; we are honored by being associated, even in vague erroneous guesses, with personages of such high rank and character; but it is a different matter, when, in the pages of a grave history, our anonymous articles are attributed to this or

that important functionary: and we need scarcely explain to Captain Cunningham, why such identification, whether right or wrong, has its especial inconveniences. The favour, which this publication has found in the highest places of the Anglo-Indian government, and the fact that we have been, from time to time, officially aided in our endeavours to dissemiate the amplest and most accurate information on the subjects, of which we have proposed to treat, would lead us to believe, that in reality, at least under the late and the present administration, no public servant would suffer any detriment by being suspected of contributing to our pages. Still, there are many reasons to render the system of attempted identification highly objectionable—reasons, with which, we doubt not, that Captain Cunningham is as well acquainted as ourselves. If it be desirable, as we hope it is, that such a work as this should exist, it is desirable that no government functionaries should be publicly named as contributors to its pages.

We may now, leaving much unsaid, which we purposed to have said in these preliminary remarks, pass on to Captain Cunningham's book. It is, as the title-page sets forth, 'a history of the Sikhs, from the origin of the nation to the battles of the Sutlej.' Our remarks will principally refer to the recent annals of the Punjab; but before we launch upon the stormy sea of contemporary history, we may quote a few passages from the earlier chronicles of the Khalsa. Let us begin with an account of the philosophical system of Nânuk:—

"Nânuk adopted the philosophical system of his countrymen, and regarded bliss, as the dwelling of the soul with God after its punitory transmigrations should have ceased. Life, he says, is as the shadow of the passing bird, but the soul of man is as the potter's wheel, ever circling on its pivot. He makes the same uses of the current language, or notions, of the time on other subjects, and thus says, he who remains bright amid darkness (Unjun), unmoved amid deceit (Maya), that is perfect amid temptation, should attain happiness. But it would be idle to suppose that he speculated upon being, or upon the material world, after the manner of Plato or Vyâsa; and it would be unreasonable to condemn him, because he preferred the doctrine of a succession of habiliments, and the possible purification of the most sinful soul, to the resurrection of the same body, and the pains of everlasting fire.* Nânuk also referred to the Arabian pro-

* Captain Cunningham goes most unnecessarily out of his way to introduce a flippant and offensive comparison. His caprice of writing, as a Sikh, is here carried beyond the bounds of decency and good sense. It remains to be proved that Nânuk ever heard of the Christian doctrine, which it has pleased Captain Cunningham to caricature; and, if he had, it would be in the highest degree reasonable to condemn him, or any one, who could prefer the senseless and licentious doctrine of transmigration, where John is punished for Peter's sins, and Thomas rewarded for John's virtues, neither Thomas, nor John, nor Peter, knowing any thing about the matter, to the just and solemn decree, which conscience recognizes to be the voice of God, that each individual, with full consciousness of the past, shall stand before the judgment seat,

phet, and to the Hindoo incarnations, not as impostors and the diffusers of evil, but as having truly been sent by God to instruct mankind: and he lamented that sin should nevertheless prevail. He asserted no special divinity; although he may possibly have considered himself, as he came to be considered by others, the successor of these inspired teachers of his belief, sent to reclaim fallen mortals of all creeds and countries within the limits of his knowledge. He rendered his mission applicable to all times and places; yet he declared himself to be but the slave, the humble messenger of the Almighty, making use of univeral truth as his sole instrument. He did not claim for his writings, replete as they were with wisdom and devotion, the merit of a direct transcription of the words of God; nor did he say that his own preaching required, or would be sanctioned by, miracles. "Fight with no weapon," said he, "save the word of God; a holy teacher hath no means save the purity of his doctrine." He taught that asceticism or abandonment of the world was unnecessary, the pious hermit and the devout householder being equal in the eyes of the Almighty; but he did not, like his contemporary Vullubh, express any invidious preference for married teachers, although his own example showed that he considered every one should fulfil the functions of his nature. In treating the two prominent external observances of Hindoos and Mahometans, veneration for the cow, and abhorrence of the hog, he was equally wise and conciliatory, yielding perhaps something to the prejudices of his education, as well as to the gentleness of his disposition. "The rights of strangers," said he, "are the one the ox, and the other the swine; but 'Peers' and 'Gooroos' will praise those, who partake not of that which hath enjoyed life."

Some observations on the death of Govind, and the influence of that Guru upon the Sikhs, may follow here, in due sequence:—

"Govind was killed in 1708 at Nudërh on the banks of the Godavery. He was in his forty-eighth year, and, if it be thought by any that his obscure end belied the promise of his whole life, it should be remembered that—

> "The hand of man
> Is but a tardy servant of the brain,
> And follows, with its leaden diligence,
> The fiery steps of fancy;"

that, when Mahomet was a fugitive from Mecca, "the lance of an Arab might have changed the history of the world;" and that the Achilles of poetry (the reflection of truth) left Troy untaken. The lord of the Myrmidons, destined to a short life and immortal glory, met an end almost as base, as that which he dreaded when struggling with Simois and Scamander; and the heroic Richard, of eastern and western fame, whose whole soul was bent upon the deliverance of Jerusalem, veiled his face in shame and sorrow, that God's holy city should be left in the possession of infidels: he would not behold that which he could not redeem, and he descended from the Mount to retire to captivity and a premature grave. Success is

to receive according to the deeds done in the body, whether they have been good or evil. Pythagoras was at least consistent in his system; for he held that consciousness continued. It might also be asked, in what way the Hindu incarnations are calculated to instruct mankind. But Capt. Cunningham's account of the system of Nânuk seems merely drawn up *ad captandum;* it is unworthy of serious criticism, and unworthy of his own high character and remarkable abilities. In questionable hero-worship, it is not given to every man to bend the bow of Carlyle. The same remarks will apply to his vague and bombastic account of the influence of Govind.—ED.

thus not always the measure of greatness. The last apostle of the Sikhs did not live to see his own ends accomplished, but he effectually roused the dormant energies of a vanquished people, and filled them with a lofty although fitful longing for social freedom and national ascendancy, the proper adjuncts of that purity of worship which had been preached by Nânuk. Govind saw what was yet vital, and he relumed it with Promethean fire. A living spirit possesses the whole Sikh people, and the impress of Govind has not only elevated and altered the constitution of their minds, but has operated materially, and given amplitude to their physical frames. The features and external form of a whole people have been modified; and a Sikh chief is not more distinguishable by his stately person and free and manly bearing, than a minister of his faith is by a lofty thoughtfulness of look, which marks the fervour of his soul, and his persuasion of the near presence of the Divinity. Notwithstanding these changes, it has been usual to regard the Sikhs as essentially Hindoo, and they doubtless are so in language and every-day customs; for Govind did not fetter his disciples with political systems, or codes of municipal laws; yet in religious faith and worldly aspirations, they are wholly different from other Indians; and they are bound together by a community of inward sentiment and of outward object unknown elsewhere. But the misapprehension need not surprise the public, nor condemn our scholars, when it is remembered that the learned of Greece and Rome misunderstood the spirit of those humble men, who obtained a new life by baptism. Tacitus and Suetonius regarded the early Christians as a mere Jewish sect: they failed to perceive the fundamental difference, and to appreciate the latent energy and real excellence of that doctrine, which has added dignity and purity to modern civilization."

We shall render these extracts more complete by appending the following brief passage, on the establishment of Sikhism, and the respective influence of its principal apostles:—

"Thus, at the end of two centuries, had the Sikh faith become established, as a prevailing sentiment and guiding principle, to work its way in the world. Nânuk disengaged his little society of worshippers from Hindoo idolatry and Mahometan superstition, and placed them free on a broad basis of religious and moral purity; Ummer Das preserved the infant community from declining into a sect of quietists or ascetics; Arjoon gave his increasing followers a written rule of conduct and a civil organization; Hur Govind added the use of arms and a military system; and Govind Singh bestowed upon them a distinct political existence, and inspired them with the desire of being socially free and nationally independent. No further legislation was required; a firm persuasion had been elaborated, and a vague feeling had acquired consistence as an active principle. The operation of this faith, become a fact, is only now in progress, and the fruit it may yet bear cannot be foreseen. Sikhism arose, where fallen and corrupt Brahminical doctrines were most strongly acted on by the vital and spreading Mahometan belief. It has now come into contact with the civilization and Christianity of Europe, and the result can only be known to a distant posterity."

Captain Cunningham's account of the Sikh soldiery is worth quoting:—

"In the year 1822, the French generals, Ventura and Allard, reached

Lahore by way of Persia and Afghanistan; and, after some little hesitation, they were employed and treated with distinction. It has been usual to attribute the superiority of the Sikh army to the labors of these two officers, and of their subsequent coadjutors, the Generals Court and Avitabile; but, in truth, the Sikh owes his excellence as a soldier to his own hardihood of character, to that spirit of adaptation which distinguishes every new people, and to that feeling of a common interest and destiny implanted in him by his great teachers. The Rajpoots and Puthäns are valiant and high-minded warriors: but their pride and their courage are personal only, and concern them, as men of ancient family and noble lineage; they will do nothing unworthy of their birth, but they are indifferent to the political advancement of their race. The efforts of the Mahrattas, in emancipating themselves from a foreign yoke, were neither guided nor strengthened by any distinct hope or desire. They became free, but knew not how to remain independent; and they allowed a crafty Brahmin to turn their aimless aspirations to his own profit, and to found a dynasty of "Peshwas" on the achievements of unlettered Soodras. Ambitious soldiers took a further advantage of the spirit called up by Sevajee; but, as it was not sustained by any pervading religious principle of action, a few generations saw the race yield to the expiring efforts of Mahometanism; and the Mahrattas owe their present position, as rulers, to the intervention of European strangers. The genuine Mahratta can scarcely be said to exist, and the two hundred thousand spearmen of the last century are once more shepherds and tillers of the ground. Similar remarks apply to the Goorkhas, that other Indian people which has risen to greatness in latter times by its own innate power, unmingled with religious hope. They became masters; but no peculiar institution formed the landmark of their thoughts; and the vitality of the original impulse seems fast waning before the superstition of an ignorant priesthood, and the turbulence of a feudal nobility. The difference, between these races and the fifth tribe of Indian warriors, will be at once apparent. The Sikh looks before him only; the ductility of his youthful intellect readily receives the most useful impression, or takes the most advantageous form; and religious faith is ever present to sustain him under any adversity, and to assure him of an ultimate triumph.

The Rajpoot and Puthän will fight, as Pirthee Raee and Jenghiz Khan waged war; they will ride on horses in tumultuous array, and they will wield a sword and spear with individual dexterity: but neither of these cavaliers will deign to stand in regular ranks, and to handle the musket of the infantry soldier, although the Mahometan has always been a brave and skilful server of heavy cannon. The Mahratta is equally averse to the European system of warfare; and the less stiffened Goorkha has only had the power or the opportunity of forming battalions of footmen, unsupported by an active cavalry and a trained artillery. The early force of the Sikhs was composed of horsemen; but they seem intuitively to have adopted the new and formidable matchlock of recent times, instead of their ancestral bows, and the spear common to every nation. Mr. Forster noticed this peculiarity in 1783, and the advantage it gave in desultory warfare. In 1805, Sir John Malcolm did not think the Sikh was better mounted than the Mahratta; but, in 1810, Sir David Ochterloney considered that, in the confidence of untried strength, his great native courage would show him more formidable than a follower of Sindhia or Holkar, and readily lead him to face a battery of well served guns. The peculiar arm of the contending nations of the last century passed into a proverb, and the phrase, 'the Mahratta spear, the Afghan sword, the Sikh matchlock, and the English cannon,' is still of common repetition; nor does it gratify the pride

of the present masters of India, to hear their success attributed rather to the number and excellence of their artillery, than to that dauntless courage and firm array, which have enabled the humble footmen to win most of those distant victories which add glory to the English name. Nevertheless it has always been the object of rival powers to obtain a numerous artillery; the battalions of De Boigne would never separate themselves from their cannon, and the presence of that formidable arm is yet, perhaps, essential to the full confidence of the British Sepoy."

We now come close upon the history of our own times, and tread more debatable ground. There are points of some importance in the recent annals of British India regarding which, as upon questions of fact, we are at issue with Captain Cunningham. A few of these we intend to cite, offering our own refutations or explanations, where the historian is either incorrect or obscure. We believe that on all these points Captain Cunningham has written conscientiously; but in some cases, he has been led astray by deficient information, and in others, he has been deluded by strong prejudices, into very pernicious errors. We regret that the late hour, at which the volume reached us, compels us to go less into detail, than otherwise we should have been tempted to do.

We turn over the leaves to that portion of the history, which relates to the outbreak of the Cabul insurrection. "About 'two months afterwards, or on the second of November, (1841)," writes Captain Cuningham, "that insurrection 'broke out in Caubul, which forms so painful a passage in 'British history. No valiant youth arose, superior to the fatal 'influence of military subordination, to render illustrious the 'retreat of a handful of Englishmen, or more illustrious still 'the successful defence of their position. The brave spirit of 'Sir W. Macnaghten laboured perseveringly, but in vain, against 'the unworthy fear which possessed the highest officers of the 'army; and the dismay of the distant commanders imparted 'some of its poison to the supreme authorities in India, who 'were weary of the useless and burdensome occupation of 'Khorassan. The first generous impulse was cowed into a 'desire of annulling the Doorance alliance, and of collecting 'a force on the Indus, or even so far back as the Sutlej, there 'to fight for the empire of Hindustan with the torrents of 'exulting Affghans, which the startled imaginations of English-'men readily conjured up." A disagreeable passage this, and not historically true. The highest officers of the army at Cabul, in that disastrous winter of 1841-42, were not smitten with "unworthy fear." Fear is a hard word to apply to British officer of any rank. General Elphinstone and Brigadier Shelton were no cowards. The former was incapacitated by

physical infirmity; the latter wanted wisdom, wanted temper; but did not want courage. General Elphinstone had applied, on the score of ill health, to be relieved from his command, and had received permission to return to the provinces, before the insurrection broke out. He was unable to move about, except on horseback; and, unfortunately, on the evening of the 2nd of November, when visiting the guards, his horse fell with him, and *on* him; and he was obliged to return home. From that time his sufferings increased, and, on the 9th, having found himself quite incompetent to the efficient performance of his duties, he recalled Brigadier Shelton from the Bala-Hissar. Much was expected from the advice and co-operation of this officer; but the general and the troops were equally disappointed. Brigadier Shelton, from the day of his arrival, thwarted and opposed General Elphinstone, canvassed and censured, in the presence of subordinate officers, the orders that were given, and frequently prevented or delayed their being carried into effect. But the Brigadier was not wanting in courage; and, whatever language we may apply to his conduct, which was sufficiently reprehensible, "unworthy fear" is not an expression which should find a place in the account. As for Brigadier Anquetil, he was a brave and an able officer; but, at the very commencement of the insurrection, he was overtaken by sickness, and the General was deprived of his services at the time when they were most wanted;—a loss which Elphinstone greatly regretted, leaving on record an expression of his regret, and of his confidence in the cordiality with which the Brigadier would have co-operated with him. So much for "the highest officers of the army." The reference to the "valiant youth," who did not arise, is a mere rhetorical flourish, suggesting dim ideas of Xenophon and the "illustrious retreat" which he conducted. In these days of army-lists, order-books, Adjutant-General's offices, articles of war, and courts-martial, there is little chance for the valiant youth of our army, except when circumstances detach them from the establishments to which they belong. The barrier of rank in this nineteenth century is not to be overleapt by the vaulting ambition of valiant subalterns. Every thing is too clearly defined—too formal—too systematic. It is one of the best arguments in favor of the "political system," which in some quarters is unreasonably depreciated, that it removes able and aspiring young officers from the bondage of seniority, and enables them, in positions of detached responsibility, to show of what stuff they are made. Our valiant youths have done illustrious deeds; but they have first of all been transplanted from that formal garden of military etiquette,

where field officers flourish in equi-distant rows; and, whether they be dry and sapless, or, vigorous in green old age, are still the commanding officers of our legions—still the men whom all must obey.

To the passage quoted above, Captain Cunningham has appended a note, in illustration of the assertion, that "the startled imaginations of our countrymen, in that winter of 1841-42," conjured up all sorts of horrors to fright them out of their propriety. "Of those who recorded their opinions about the 'policy to be followed at the moment, it may be mentioned that 'Mr. Robertson, Lieutenant Governor of Agra, and Sir Herbert 'Maddock, the political secretary, advised a stand at Peshawur." Now, as regards at least Mr. Robertson, the assertion, here put forth with so much confidence, has absolutely no truth. The only stand at Peshawur, that Mr. Robertson can even have thought of for a moment, was the stand, not of the retributive army, but of Sale's brigade, in the event of its being driven from Jellalabad. He may have thought (doubtless, he did think) it better that Sale's brigade, under such circumstances, should make a stand at Peshawur, than that it should fall back upon the British provinces. Mr. Robertson, we say, may have thought this; but our belief is that he has recorded no opinions upon the subject even of such a stand as this at Peshawur; and we are certain that he advised no other. There was not a man in India more eager for a prompt forward movement; and we feel assured, that if the provisional Governor-Generalship had devolved upon him in that important conjuncture, Jellalabad would have been relieved before the end of the year. If there was energy, at that time, in any quarter, if there were any men in India, whose imaginations were not startled at the thought of torrents of exulting Affghans inundating the plains of Hindustan, those men were Mr. Robertson and Mr. George Clerk. Had their wishes been carried out in the first instance, and a well-equipped, well-commanded Brigade, been pushed on to Jellalabad, the crowning disaster of that fatal winter might have been averted, or at least mitigated. Mr. Clerk was the first to gain intelligence of the outbreak at Cabul, and the first to act upon it. The news reached Mr. Robertson at Allighur; he hurried to Agra to meet the Commander-in-Chief, and then advised, not a stand at Peshawur, but the despatch of an able general officer to take command of the advanced brigade;—not such a brigade as was sent, but one containing an European regiment, and at least a troop of Horse Artillery. What was done, and what happened, we need not repeat. Our first movement in advance was a failure. Intelligence of this event and of the massacre of

the Cabul army reached India about the same time. It was necessary, therefore, to begin *de novo*. Circumstances were changed, in some measure, by the destruction of General Elphinstone's force; and a more extended plan of action, having in view ulterior political results, was considered by our leading Indian statesmen, and amongst them by Mr. Robertson. What he advised in January 1842 was, not a stand at Peshawur, but an advance by the Bolan Pass upon Candahar, which he proposed to make the basis of our operations. Subsequently, when the force under General Pollock was assembled at Peshawur, it was Mr. Robertson who supplied the cattle, which enabled him to move. The Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Provinces was a little too active to suit the taste of the new Governor General. The result of the difference of opinion on this subject we have already stated.*

To this we may add that, throughout all this troubled period, there were no signs of alarm or agitation—no evidences of a "startled imagination"—in Mr. Robertson's Government of the North Western provinces. There may have been apprehensions elsewhere. The Political secretary wrote to the Commander-in-Chief "to look after the large towns;" and, as the result of this private hint, a regiment of cavalry was sent over express from Meerut to Delhi—a movement that both indicated and caused alarm: but so little had Mr. Robertson to do with this, that he is believed to have remonstrated against the measure, which he not only condemned in itself, but which had all the appearance of being (and probably was) intended as a slight. Certainly Mr. Robertson is the last of all the eminent men in India at that time, whom one would expect to see adduced as an illustration of the timid councils and startled imaginations of the memorable and melancholy epoch to which we refer.

These points are of a more episodical character; and are only touched upon by Captain Cunningham, in so far as they bear upon the history of the Sikhs. The remarks, which we have commented upon, are introductory of an account of the Sikh alliance of 1842, and of the manner in which, at that time, the "Sikh auxiliaries" co-operated with the force under General Pollock. Let us see what the historian says upon this subject:—

"No confidence was placed in the efficiency, or the friendship, of the Sikhs; and although their aid was always considered of importance, the mode, in which it was asked and used, only served to sink the Lahore army lower than before in British estimation.

* See Vol. II, page 463, in a passage quoted from Macfarlane's "Indian Empire," and our comments thereupon.

Four regiments of Sepoys marched from Ferozpoor without guns, and unsupported by cavalry, to vainly endeavour to force the Pass of Khyber; and the Sikh troops at Peshawur were urged by the local British authorities in their praiseworthy ardor, rather than deliberately ordered by their own government at the instance of its ally, to co-operate in the attempt, or indeed to march alone to Jellalabad. The fact that the English had been beaten was notorious, and the belief in their alarm was welcome. The Sikh governor was obliged in the absence of orders, to take the sense of the regimental "punches" or committees; and the hasty requisition to march was rejected, through fear alone, as the English said, but really with feelings, in which contempt, distrust, and apprehension were all mixed. The district Governor, General Avitabile, who fortunately still retained his province, freely gave what aid he could; some pieces of artillery were furnished, as well as abundance of ordinary supplies, and the British detachment effected the relief of Alí Musjid. But the unpardonable neglect of going to the fort without the food which had been provided, obliged the garrison to retreat after a few days; and the disinclination of the Sikhs to fight the battles of strangers communicated itself to the mercenary soldiers of the English, and thus added to the Governor General's dislike of the Afghan connection."

We doubt, in spite of the disasters that had overtaken us, whether the Sikhs ever felt contempt for the British; but that our distrust in them was well-founded, we have too good reason to know. The assistance rendered by general Avitabile to Wild's brigade is exaggerated in the above passage; less, however, by what is stated, than by what is *not*. General Avitabile "freely gave" as little aid as he could without altogether refusing to assist us: but this may have been his misfortune rather than his fault. Two unserviceable guns were lent to the British, and not a Sikh soldier assisted us in the course of our marches to and from Ali-Musjid.* The provisions consumed by the brigade were bought; and it may be questioned, whether any little good done by Avitabile was not more than counterbalanced by the mischief he did, in publicly stating that less than 20,000 men could not possibly force the Khybur. As to the Sikhs themselves, their attempts, at this time, and subsequently up to the time that the army marched to the relief of Jellalabad, to corrupt our sepoys and detach them from our service, are too notorious to require any elucidation from us. It is as well known, that they poisoned the minds of our sepoys, as that they insulted our officers; and that General Pollock was obliged to thrust them out of his camp.

* See Article "The Sikhs and their country"—Vol. II. p. 180—183, for what the Sikh auxiliaries did, and what they did not, at this time. Captain Cunningham, who has done us the honor to quote this article and others, in several parts of his History, and who indeed refers his readers to the identical passage indicated by us, must have learnt from this paper the sum and substance of the assistance we derived from our allies.

We let Captain Cunningham continue his account of the services of these auxiliaries :—

" The necessity of at least relieving the garrison of Jellalabad was paramount, and in the spring of 1842 a well equipped British force arrived at Peshawur; but the active co-operation of the Sikhs was still desirable, and it was sought for under the terms of an absolute article of the tripartite treaty with Shah Shooja, which gave Lahore a subsidy of two lakhs of rupees in exchange for the services of 5000 men. Sher Singh was willing to assist beyond this limited degree; he greatly facilitated the purchase of grain and the hire of carriage cattle in the Punjab, and his auxiliaries could be made to outnumber the troops of his allies; but he felt uneasy about the proceedings of the Sindhanwala chiefs, one of whom had gone to Calcutta to urge his own claims, or those of Maee Chund Kôur, and all of whom retained influence in the Sikh ranks. He was assured that the refugees should not be allowed to disturb his reign; and there thus seemed to be no obstacle in the way of his full co-operation. But the genuine Sikhs were held by the English to be both mutinous in disposition, and inferior in warlike spirit; the soldiers of Jummu were preferred, and Golab Singh was required to proceed to Peshawur to repress the insubordinate " Khâlsa," and to give General Pollock the assurance of efficient aid. The raja was at the time completing the reduction of some insurgent tribes between Cashmeer and Attok, and his heart was in Tibet, where he had himself lost an army and a kingdom. He went, but he knew the temper of his own hill levies: he was naturally unwilling to run any risk by following the modes of strangers to which he was unused, and he failed in rendering the Sikh battalions as decorous and orderly as English regiments. His prudence and ill success were looked upon as collusion and insincerity; and he was thought to be in league with Akber Khan for the destruction of the army of an obnoxious European power. Still his aid was held to be essential; and the local British officers proposed to bribe him by the offer of Jellalabad, independent of his sovereign Sher Singh. The scheme was justly condemned by Mr Clerk: the Khyber Pass was forced in the month of April, and the auxiliary Sikhs acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of the English general, without any promises having been made to the Raja of Jummoo, who gladly hurried to the Ladâkh frontier, to look after interests dearer to him than the success, or the vengeance, of foreigners. It was designed by General Pollock to leave the whole of the Sikh division at Jellalabad, to assist in holding that district, while the main English army went to Caubul; but the proper interposition of Colonel Lawrence enabled a portion of the Lahore troops to share in that retributive march, as they had before shared in the first invasion, and fully shown their fitness for meeting difficulties, when left to do so in their own way."

There are two points in the above passage, which we desire to notice. The first is that which relates to the actual assistance rendered by the Sikhs to General Pollock; and the second has reference to the politicial negociations, which were set on foot to secure the co-operation of our allies. As regards the first, at a time when the chief want of the British force was a want of carriage, the Sikhs did all that they could, not to assist us by supplying us with cattle, but to favour the desertion of camel-drivers with their beasts, and so to paralyse the movements of our troops.

When the advance took place, we have reason to believe that they did not "acquit themselves to the satisfaction of the English General." His dispatch is wholly silent on the subject of the auxiliaries. The English entered the Pass on the morning of the 5th of April, and encamped that evening about a mile from Ali-Musjid. On the morning of the 6th, the British force took possession of the fortress, which had been evacuated; and in the course of the day, the Sikhs made their appearance, coming by a different route. When General Pollock advanced to Jellalabad, the Sikhs undertook to hold Ali-Musjid, and keep open the passes between that place and Peshawur. They performed that duty reluctantly, and behaved in a manner anything but creditable to themselves, or advantageous to us. It would be a long story to tell of all their misconduct in detail. General Pollock had scarcely moved on to Jellalabad, when the Sikh authorities entered into negotiations with the Afreedis to keep, for a consideration of some 4,000 or 6,000 rupees, the passes open, during the two months for which they had covenanted to hold them;—a proceeding, which had the effect of laying bare to the Afreedi Maliks the nature of the engagements existing between ourselves and our "allies." Not very long afterwards, the Sikh regiments stationed at Ali-Musjid quitted their post, and returned to Jumrúd. Meeting some of our baggage-cattle (mules and bullocks) on the way, they threw the loads off the beasts, and employed them to carry their (the Sikhs') baggage. The troops were, it appeared, officially recalled, without any notice given to Capt. Mackeson, or any steps being taken to relieve them, although there were four regiments close at hand for the purpose. We might speak of other outrages, committed about this time; but we have neither time nor space at our command. It would require much of both, also, to detail the difficulties thrown in the way of the subsequent advance of the Sikh detachment. It gave the British authorities more trouble, and caused them more anxiety, than the co-operation was worth; and, if it had not been that the British cause might have been prejudicially affected by the appearance of any want of friendship and confidence between the Sikhs and ourselves, it is not improbable, that our authorities would gladly have cut a-drift the Sikh alliance, and spared themselves the necessity of a long and troublesome correspondence, and the annoyance of being exposed to the uncertainty and vacillation—the fast-and-loose dealings, more the result of weakness than of design—of the Lahore durbar.

Now, a word as to the bait, which it was proposed to hold out to our "allies." Early in February 1842, when Golab Singh

was proceeding to Peshawur for the purpose of rendering us that aid, which it was obvious we could not obtain from the battalions of Mahtab Singh, the tardiness of the Jummú Rajah excited the suspicion of the British authorities. It was thought that he either feared to face the Khybur, or was hanging back in hopes of being stimulated by a bribe worthy of his acceptance. It was surmised, in short, that he was waiting until it had been made worth his while to advance. Thus circumstanced, it occurred to the British agent on the North Western Frontier, whether it might be advisable,—not to make any offers to the Rajah independently of the Lahore Government, (a step which would not only have been hardly justifiable in itself, but which would assuredly excite the ill feeling of the Khalsa, and therefore would have been little acceptable to Golab Singh) —but to offer certain territories, especially Jellalabad, to the Sikh Government, giving Golab Singh possession in the name of the Maharajah, and trusting to the force of circumstances eventually to secure permanently to the Jummú chief the territory so acquired. But we believe that no offer was at this time made of any portion of the Afghan territory to the Sikhs. It was felt that so long as Shah Soojah existed, and the tri-partite treaty had not been annulled, any design to dissever the Douraní empire, and to invite the Sikhs to share in the partition, would be premature, both as regarded the justice and the expediency of the measure. But the death of Shah Soojah gave a new aspect to the state of affairs; and the British Government lost little time, after authentic intelligence of that event had been received, in communicating to Mr. Clerk its willingness, that certain territories on the right bank of the Indus should pass into the possession of the Sikh Government, or of the Jummú Rajahs, with the permission of the Lahore durbar; and it was intimated, that the British Government would facilitate the accomplishment of this object by placing Jellalabad in the hands of the Sikhs. The offer was formally made, but, in the then uncertain position of affairs, prudently declined. It was not unreasonably urged by the Durbar, that, until they were in possession of the ultimate intentions of the British with respect to Afghanistan, it would be hardly politic in the Sikhs to place themselves in a prominent position, or in any way to identify themselves with measures, the future outturn of which they could as yet but but dimly foresee. But it was believed that, as soon as ever our withdrawal from Afghanistan was fully determined upon and about to be put in execution, the Sikhs, without further explanation, would be willing to take possession of Jellalabad. And they were so; but not having

fully made up their minds upon the subject (probably from some mis-trust of our intentions), until the British force had actually marched from Cabul, their acceptance of the offer came too late to save the place from destruction. General Pollock had, in accordance with instructions, destroyed the fortifications of Jellalabad, before he received a communication from Government, intended, if possible, to arrest such proceedings, and ordering him to make over the place uninjured to our allies. It may be doubted whether any party very much regretted the accident.*

The *latter* portion of this explanation differs, in no wise, from that given by Captain Cunningham in the following passage. Indeed, the substance of it is to be found in the published papers relating to military operations in Afghanistan. The passage, however, we quote for another purpose :—

"The death of Shah Shooja, and his suspicious proceedings, were held to render the re-occupation of the country unnecessary, and the tri-partite treaty was declared to be at an end; but the policy of a march on the Afghan capital was strongly urged, and wisely adopted. There seemed to be a prospect of wintering in Cabul, and it was not until the victorious troops were on their return to India, that it was believed the English would ever forego the possession of an empire. The Sikhs then consented to take Jellalabad; but, before the order, transferring it, could reach General Pollock, that commander had destroyed the fortifications, and nominally abandoned the place to the king, whom he had expediently set up in the Bala-Hissar. It is probable that Sher Singh was not unwilling to be relieved of the invidious gift; for his own sway in Lahore was distracted, and Dost Mahomed was about to be released, under the pledge of a safe passage through the Punjab dominions; and it may have been thought prudent to conciliate the father of Akber Khan, so famous for his successes against the English, by the surrender of a possession it was inconvenient to hold."

If General Pollock "expediently set up a King in the Bala-Hissar," it was what he was not authorised to do; nay, what he was expressly enjoined by Government not to do. But he did nothing of the kind. General Pollock having refused to support him, Futteh Jung set himself up, and was for a time recognised by the Sirdars at Cabul. When the army was about to retire, the Prince begged General Pollock to leave two regiments for his protection. This, of course, the General declined; and Futteh Jung, who had no great amount of courage at the best of times, became alarmed for his personal safety, and asked permission to accompany the army to the British provinces. Permission was granted: but nothing was guaranteed, or promised for the future. Upon this, the Sirdars asked, whom they should declare King, and were told in reply, that they were at liberty

* It had been distinctly intimated to the Sikhs, that, if they took possession of Jellalabad, the British would, in no wise, help them to retain it.

to nominate whom they pleased—that they might set up "*a straw*" if they liked. On the day that the army marched from Cabul, Shah-poor was paraded about the streets as the new King; but General Pollock had nothing whatever to do with his election. His instructions were not to set up a King; and assuredly his own judgment did not dictate a departure from them. Indeed, Shah-poor was not put upon the throne, and the chiefs did not take the oaths of allegiance, until after General Pollock had marched out of Cabul on the 12th of October. The General had distinctly refused to have anything to do with the elevation of the young Prince, as of his brother before him. Gholam Mahomed Khan, who was then minister, and Khan Shereen Khan, the chief of the Kuzzilbashes, had on their own parts, and the parts of other chiefs, avowed their intention to support Shah-poor; but General Pollock told them, that the British Government could in no wise be a party to the proceeding, and that they must expect no assistance from him either in money or in troops. They persisted in representing their wishes to place Shah-poor upon the throne; but all General Pollock consented to do, was not to remove the Prince from Cabul, stipulating at the same time that the British Government should not be supposed in any way to be a party to the creation of the new King.

It is certain, therefore, that Shah-poor was not "expediently set up" by General Pollock; and it is to Shah-poor, we presume, that Capt. Cunningham alludes. As for Futteh Jung, he clung to General Pollock for protection; and we do not doubt, that he did all that could be done to impart something of the true stamp of authority to his connexion with the victorious General, in the eyes at least of his fellow-countrymen. He accompanied General Pollock from Yandannuk to Cabul; and, when the former, with a select detachment of British troops, proceeded to the Bala-Hissar to plant the English standard upon the highest and most conspicuous point of that celebrated strong-hold, Futteh Jung begged permission to accompany the party, pleading that he apprehended treachery and violence, if he entered the Bala-Hissar alone. Permission was given, and the Prince accompanied the party. The road to the spot, on which the colours were to be hoisted, lay by the Palace; and in the neighbourhood of the Palace the troops and guns were halted, as there were no means of proceeding beyond. The General and Staff went forward, and planted the colours on the spot determined upon; whilst, upon a signal given, the troops presented arms, the band struck up "God save the Queen," and a royal salute was fired by the guns. We need scarcely add that the salute was fired, not in honor of the

Prince, but in honour of the event. Whether any advantage was taken by Futteh Jung of the fact, that he re-entered his Father's Palace coincidentally with the hoisting of the British colours on the Bala-Hissar; or whether this coincidence occasioned any mistaken impressions among our own people, as well as among the Afghans, with regard to this movement, and the subsequent elevation of Shah-poor, we do not pretend to know; but as more than one authority, misled by this or some other circumstance, has asserted that General Pollock set up a King at Cabul, we have placed on record all that we know about the matter; and we believe, that nothing more could be written to throw further light upon the subject. The whole truth now stands fully revealed.

But we have matters of more importance to notice, and charges of greater weight to bring against Captain Cunningham We repudiate all that cant of pseudo-patriotism, which consists in the unscrupulous pertinacity, with which everything belonging to, and everything done by, our enemies, is spoken of in the malignant language of hatred and contempt; whilst everything appertaining to, or emanating from, ourselves is commended and exalted to the skies. There is a great deal too much one-sidedness in the generality of our war-narratives. Prejudice and partiality are at work to over-lay or distort the truth. What are called 'English views' are often incorrect views, and "true British spirit" is frequently only another name for untruth and injustice. The man paints the picture, or carves the statue, and is of course uppermost. It is instructive sometimes to see how the lion would paint the picture, or carve the statue: but we would rather that he should put himself uppermost, than that the man should do it for him. An historian, however, is rarely disposed to be prejudiced against his own countrymen; and we conceive that such prejudices, when they do exist, are less injurious than those which set in the opposite direction. There are sure to be people, who will take the trouble to expose the errors born of such prejudices as these; whilst, on the other hand, we are seldom at the pains to contradict, even when admitted, those which redound to our own credit.

Still, it must be acknowledged that such prejudices as these grate much more harshly upon the minds of the English reader. Captain Cunningham is the apologist of the Sikhs. His heart seems to be with them. He is almost one of the Khalsa himself; almost a follower of Govind; almost is the Grunth his gospel. He sees things as they are seen at Lahore, not as they are seen on our side of the Sutlej—or, as they would be seen on a summit of infallibility, above the mists of all local influences.

He justifies, or seems to justify, the Sikh invasion of 1845-46, on the score of provocation given. This is a new reading of recent Indian history, which, coming from a British officer, from one politically employed for many years on the North-West frontier, and from a man of unquestionable ability—a clever member of a clever family—it is worth our while to examine.

The ninth Chapter of the History of the Sikhs, headed 'War with the English,' commences with this passage :—

"The English government had long expected that it would be forced into a war with the overbearing soldiery of the Punjab: the Indian public, which considered only the fact of the progressive aggrandizement of the strangers, was prepared to hear of the annexation of another kingdom, without minutely inquiring or caring about the causes which led to it; and the more selfish chiefs of the Sikhs had always desired that such a degree of interference should be exercised in the affairs of their country as would guarantee to them the easy enjoyment of their possessions. These wealthy and incapable men stood rebuked before the superior genius of Runjeet Singh, and before the mysterious spirit which animated the people arrayed in arms; and they thus fondly hoped that a change would give them all they could desire. But it is doubtful whether the Sikh soldiery ever seriously thought, although they often vauntingly boasted, of fighting with the paramount power of Hindustan, until within two or three months of the first battles; and, even then, the rude and illiterate yeomen considered that they were about to enter upon a war purely defensive."

This we believe to be true. Nay, it is probable that within a still shorter time the Sikhs had no settled determination of invading the British provinces. Such an invasion had often been talked of in the Punjab, and the cry of "Wolf" had often been raised in our own provinces; but although it was felt, that, in the then state and temper of the Sikh army, with no governing power competent to restrain with a strong hand their unbridled licentiousness, such an event might at any time occur, it was the opinion of the most competent authorities in India, that all this boasting and threatening was nothing more than the craft of certain Sirdars, over-ridden by the soldiery, and at their wits' end for a device, whereby the troubled thoughts of the Khalsa might be diverted into some foreign channel, for the better maintenance of security at home. Thus in 1843, Heera Singh talked vauntingly of taking the spear in his hand, and leading the Khalsa army to the very walls of Fort William. It was but the voice of one in a dire extremity; and little heed was taken of the utterance. But, as time advanced, the probabilities of a Sikh invasion increased, for every month it became more apparent that the army was the dominant power in the Punjab, and that there were those at Lahore, who would fain see the unruly battalions cross the Sutlej, if only to their own destruction. It was felt, indeed, that if the Sikh army came at all amongst us, it

would come, less in prosecution of any settled scheme of conquest, than because the state of affairs at Lahore had rendered it necessary, that some outlet should be found for all this perilous pent-up strain of military insubordination. There was no security, indeed, against such a state of things as there existed in the Punjab;—there was no knowing at what hour an impulsive movement across the frontier might not be suggested, in very desperation, to the Sikh battalions. Still there was nothing but a basis of possibilities, upon which to ground our own defensive measures. To have known, two months before, that the Sikhs were about to invade India, would have been to know what they knew not themselves. So far Captain Cunningham and ourselves are entirely agreed.

There may be some truth, too, in what follows :—

"From the moment the Sikh army became predominant in the state, the English authorities had been persuaded that the machinery of government would be broken up, that bands of plunderers would everywhere arise, and that the duty of a civilized people to society generally, and of a governing power to its own subjects, would all combine to bring on a collision; and thus measures, which seemed sufficient, were adopted for strengthening the frontier posts, and for having a force at hand, which might prevent aggression, or which would at least exact retribution, and vindicate the supremacy of the English name. These were the fair and moderate objects of the British government; but the Sikhs took a different view of the relative conditions of the two state. They feared the ambition of their colossal neighbour; they did not understand why they should be dreaded, when intestine commotions reduced their comparative inferiority still lower; defensive measures took in their eyes the form of aggressive preparations, and they came to the conclusion that their country was to be invaded. Nor does this conviction of the weaker and less intelligent power appear to be unreasonable; for it is always to be borne in mind that India is far behind Europe in civilization, and that political morality or moderation is as little appreciated in the East in these days, as it was in Christendom in the middle ages. Hindustan, moreover, from Cabul to the valley of Assam and the island of Ceylon, is regarded as one country; and dominion in it is associated in the minds of the people with the predominance of one monarch, or of one race. The supremacy of Vicrumajit and Chundragúpta, of the Túrkmans and Moghuls, is familiar to all; and thus, on hearing of further acquisitions by the English, a Hindu or Mahometan will simply observe, that the destiny of the nation is great, or that its cannon is irresistible. A prince may chafe, that he loses a province, or is rendered tributary; but the public will never accuse the conquerors of unjust aggression, or at least of unrighteous and unprincipled ambition."

That the Sikhs sufficiently misunderstood the character of the then ruler of British India, and the policy of his Government, to believe, that an aggressive movement was meditated from our side of the Sutlej, is not wholly improbable. Lord Hardinge, desirous to avoid a collision, the evils of which he so clearly foresaw, endeavored to impart as little as possible of an offensive

character to the preparations which he was necessitated to make; but the nature of those preparations might easily have been misunderstood; and the policy, wise in its moderation, which the Governor-General pursued, was obviously not appreciated by all who served under him. Of this we shall come presently to speak. There is not in the above passage anything to justify the Sikh invasion; nor is it, we presume, intended as a justification. The apology for this act of violence is to be found in what follows:—

"To this general persuasion of the Sikhs, in common with other Indian nations, that the English were and are ever ready to extend their power, is to be added the particular bearing of the British Government towards the Punjab itself. In 1809, when the apprehensions of a French invasion of the East had subsided, and the resolution of making the Jumna a boundary was still approved, the English viceroy had said that, rather than irritate Runjeet Singh, the detachment of troops which had been advanced to Lúdiana might be withdrawn to Kurnal. It was not indeed thought advisable to carry out the proposition; but, up to the period of the Afghan war of 1838, the garrison of Lúdiana formed the only body of armed men near the Sikh frontier, excepting the provincial regiment raised at Subathú for the police of the hills after the Gúrkha war. The advanced post on the Sutlej was of little military or political use; but it served as the most conspicuous symbol of the compact with the Sikhs; and they, as the inferior power, were always disposed to lean upon old engagements, as those which warranted the least degree of intimacy or dictation. In 1835, the petty chiefship of Ferozpúr, seventy miles lower down the Sutlej than Lúdiana, was occupied by the English, as an escheat due to their protection of all Sikh lordships, save that of Lahore. The advantages of the place in a military point of view had been perseveringly extolled, and its proximity to the capital of the Punjab made Runjeet Singh, in his prophetic fear, claim it as a dependency of his own. In 1838, the Maharaja's apprehensions, that the insignificant town would become a cantonment, were fully realized; for twelve thousand men assembled at Ferozpúr to march to Khorassan; and as it was learnt before the date fixed for the departure of the army, that the Persians had raised the siege of Hirát, it was determined that a small division should be left behind, until the success of the projected invasion rendered its presence no longer necessary. But the succeeding warfare in Afghanistan and Sindh gave the new cantonment a character of permanency, and in 1842 the remoteness from support of the two posts on the Sutlej was one of the arguments used for advancing a considerable body of troops to Ambala as a reserve, and for placing European regiments in the hills, still closer to the Sikh frontier. The relations of 1809 were nevertheless cherished by the Sikhs, although they may have been little heeded by the English, amid the multifarious considerations attendant on their changed position in India.

It had never been concealed from the Sikh authorities, that the helpless condition of the acknowledged government of the country was held to justify such additions to the troops at Lúdiana and Ferozpúr, as would give confidence to the inhabitants of these districts, and ensure the successful defence of the posts themselves against predatory bands. Nor did the Sikhs deny the right of the English to make what military arrangements they pleased for the security of their territories: but that any danger was to be apprehended from Lahore was not admitted by men conscious of their

weakness; and thus, by every process of reasoning employed, the Sikhs still came to the same conclusion that they were threatened. Many circumstances, unheeded or undervalued by the English, gave further strength to this conviction. It had not indeed been made known to the Sikhs, that Sir William Macnaghten and others had proposed to dismember their kingdom, by bestowing Peshawar on Shah Shooja, when Runjeet Singh's line was held to end with the death of his grandson; but it would be idle to suppose the Lahore government ignorant of a scheme, which was discussed in official correspondence, and doubtless in private society, or of the previous desire of Sir Alexander Burnes to bestow the same tract on Dost Mahommed Khan; and the Sikh authorities must at least have had a lively remembrance of the English offer of 1843, to march upon their capital, and to disperse their army. Again, in 1844 and 1845, the facts were whispered abroad and treasured up, that the English were preparing boats at Bombay to make bridges across the Sutlej; that troops in Sindh were being equipped for a march on Mooltan; and that the various garrisons of the north-west provinces were being gradually reinforced, while some of them were being abundantly supplied with the munitions of war, as well as with troops. None of these things were communicated to the Sikh government, but they were nevertheless believed by all parties, and they were held to denote a campaign, not of defence, but aggression.

The Sikhs thus considered that the fixed policy of the English was territorial aggrandizement, and that the immediate object of their ambition was the conquest of Lahore. This persuasion of the people was brought home to them by the acts of the British representative for the time, and by the opinion which they had preformed of his views. Mr. Clerk became Lieutenant-Governor of Agra in June 1843; and he was succeeded, as agent for the affairs of the Sikhs, by Lieutenant-Colonel Richmond, whose place again was taken by Major Broadfoot, a man of undoubted energy and ability, in November of the following year. In India the views of the British Government are, by custom, made known to allies and dependants, through one channel only, namely, that of an accredited English officer. The personal character of such a functionary gives a colour to all he does and says; the policy of the government is indeed judged of by the bearing of its representative; and it is certain that the Sikh authorities did not derive any assurance of an increasing desire for peace, from the nomination of an officer who, thirty months before, had made so stormy a passage through their country."

There is much in this that ought not to pass unnoticed. It appears to us that a writer, who sees anything of justification in a state of things that had existed for nearly forty years, must be feverishly anxious to justify the Sikh invasion. "The English," says Captain Cunningham, in the margin, "advanced bodies of troops towards the Sutlej, contrary to their policy of 1809." We imagine that there were very few people in the Punjab, who cared, or who knew, anything about the policy of 1809. If they did, they must have known, that the English had occupied Ludiana ever since that date; and Captain Cunningham himself informs us, at page 155, that Sir David Ochterloney "thought it prudent to lay in supplies, and throw up defensive works," at that place, and in that year. Ever since that date, indeed, not only had we occupied the canton-

ment as an advanced post, but it had been incumbent upon the Lahore durbar to obtain permission from the British resident, before any detachment of Sikh troops was suffered to cross the Sutlej. There could be no more distinct recognition than this of the fact that the Sutlej, not the Jumna, was our boundary. In 1827, it was decided that Ferozpore belonged to the British; in 1837, Captain Cunningham himself was ordered to render it defensible; and in 1838, Lord Auckland occupied it as a military post. In 1842, Lord Ellenborough assembled 40,000 men at that place, including the returning forces of Generals Pollock and Nott; and, in the same year, Umballah was established as a military cantonment. Nothing was heard, all this time, about any old understanding that the Jumna was to remain our boundary; and we might almost as well refer to the battle of Wandewash, as one of the justifying causes of the Sikh invasion of 1845-46. That event was not the growth of forty years, but scarcely of as many days. It was an act of sudden frenzy, and not a justifying word can be said in its favour.

But, argues Captain Cunningham, our frontier posts were greatly strengthened by Lord Hardinge; and though the Sikhs did not deny his right to make what military arrangements he pleased for the security of the British provinces, they could not understand what possible danger was to be apprehended from Lahore; so they "still came to the conclusion that they were threatened." Captain Cunningham obviously thinks the Sikhs as short-sighted and one-sided as himself. If they thought at all about the matter, it might have occurred to them that the British had very good reasons to consider themselves threatened. They knew that Heera Singh had promised to lead them to Calcutta, and that the march was actually commenced. They knew that, since his death, similar promises had been made to them, and that the passage of the Sutlej was often openly talked of at Lahore. They knew too, that in the course of the spring and summer of 1845, Sikh emissaries crossed the British frontier for the express purpose of corrupting our sepoys, and that deserters from our ranks were brought before the Durbar, and openly rewarded. If they themselves took heed of what was written in our newspapers, and spoken at our mess tables, as Captain Cunningham says they did, and as we do not deny, they must have known that we were taking heed too of what was written by their newswriters, and what was spoken at their durbars. Assuredly there were not greater demonstrations of aggressiveness on our side of the Sutlej, than on theirs. Lord Hardinge did no more than was done, in 1845, that he might not irritate the Sikhs.

We need not tell Captain Cunningham that if he had done less, the British would have been defeated.

At the close of the passage last quoted, the appointment of Major Broadfoot to the frontier agency is noticed, as one of the irritating causes which led to the collision with the Sikhs. The historian thus continues his observations on this subject:—

"One of Major Broadfoot's first acts was to declare the Cis-Sutlej possessions of Lahore to be under British protection, equally with Putteeala and other chiefships, and also to be liable to escheat, on the death or deposition of Muharaja Dhuleep Singh. This view was not formally announced to the Sikh government, but it was notorious; and Major Broadfoot acted on it, when he proceeded to interfere authoritatively, and by a display of force, in the affairs of the priest-like Sodhees of Anundpoor Makhowâl, a fief to which some years before it had been declared to be expedient to waive all claim, especially as Runjeet Singh could best deal with the privileged proprietors. Again, a troop of horse had crossed the Sutlej near Fírozpúr, to proceed to Kotkupúra, a Lahore town, to relieve or strengthen the mounted police ordinarily stationed there; but the party had crossed without the previous sanction of the British agent having been obtained, agreeably to an understanding between the two governments, based on an article of the treaty of 1809, but which modified arrangement was scarcely applicable to so small a body of men proceeding for such a purpose. Major Broadfoot nevertheless required the horsemen to recross; and, as he considered them dilatory in their obedience, he followed them with his escort, and overtook them as they were about to ford the river. A shot was fired by the English party; and the extreme desire of the Sikh commandant to avoid doing any thing which might be held to compromise his government, alone prevented a collision. Further, the bridge-boats, which had been prepared at Bombay, were despatched towards Fírozpúr in the autumn of 1845, and Major Broadfoot almost avowed that hostilities had broken out, when he manifested an apprehension of danger to these armed vessels, by ordering strong guards of soldiers to escort them safely to their destination, and when he began to exercise their crews in the formation of bridges after their arrival at Firozpur."

Now, with regard to Major Broadfoot's conduct in the matter of the unauthorised passage of the Sutlej, the least that can be said of the statement in Captain Cunningham's book is that it is a very imperfect scrap of history. The Sikhs omitted to obtain the resident's sanction; and there is no doubt that the omission was intentional. It was designed to establish what would have been a very dangerous precedent. In the mutinous state of the Sikh army such a privilege could not have been with safety conceded; and Major Broadfoot did well in taking prompt measures to arrest such encroachments. The inch given, the ell would have been taken Captain Cunningham states in a note, "it is understood that the Government disapproved of these proceedings." Our understanding of the matter is widely different. The Governor-General, we understand, entirely approved of Major Broadfoot's conduct. As to

the matter of the bridge-boats, they had been ordered (50 in number) by Lord Ellenborough, and, when they arrived in the Indus, from Bombay, it was necessary that the Governor-General should decide, whether or not they should be brought on to Ferozpore. The decision was in the affirmative: but no notice whatever was taken of the circumstance by the Lahore government, and it may be questioned whether the stress was laid upon it by the Sikhs that Captain Cunningham supposes.

To other irritating causes the historian also alludes. He especially refers to the conduct of Sir Charles Napier, and to the known hostility of that leader. "It is known" he says "that 'Sir Charles Napier was anxious to station a considerable body 'of men at Kushmor, and that the Supreme Government countermanded the march of a detachment of European troops 'to that place. Some reference may also be made to an unguarded speech of Sir Charles Napiers' at the time, about 'the British being called upon to move into the Punjab—'especially as Major Broadfoot considered the Sikh leaders to 'be moved in a greater degree by the Indian newspapers, than 'is implied in a passing attention to reiterated paragraphs 'about invasion. He thought, for instance, that Pundit Julla 'understood the extent to which the Governor-General deferred 'to public opinion, and that the Brahmin himself designed to 'make use of the Press as an instrument." Nothing, we admit, could have been more indiscreet than the speech to which Captain Cunningham alludes; and, coming from such a quarter, with the fate of Scinde standing out as a warning to all the world, its influence may have been considerable. But with regard to the Press, it appears probable that there was scarcely sufficient unity of opinion to give much weight to its revelations. Not the least influential portion of the Press—not that portion to which the Governor-General was least likely to defer—was most decidedly opposed to any thing resembling an aggressive policy.

Of the parts taken by Lal Singh and Tej Singh, in the Sikh invasion of 1845-46, Captain Cunningham gives the following account:—

"The Sikh leaders threatened Firozpur, but no attack was made upon its seven thousand defenders, who with a proper spirit were led out by their commander, Sir John Littler, and showed a bold front to the overwhelming force of the enemy. The object, indeed, of Lal Singh and Tej Singh was not to compromise themselves with the English by destroying an isolated division, but to get their own troops dispersed by the converging forces of their opponents. Their desire was to be upheld as the ministers of a dependent kingdom by grateful conquerors, and they thus deprecated an attack on Firozpur, and assured the local British authorities of their secret and efficient good will. But these men

had also to keep up an appearance of devotion to the interests of their country; and they urged the necessity of leaving the easy prey of a cantonment untouched, until the leaders of the English should be attacked, and the fame of the Khâlsa exalted by the captivity or death of a Governor-General.* The Sikh army itself understood the necessity of unity of counsel in the affairs of war, and the power of the regimental and other committees was temporarily suspended by an agreement with the executive heads of the state, which enabled these unworthy men to effect their base objects with comparative ease."†

It is obvious that Captain Cunningham has not penetrated the designs of the Sikh leaders. Their treachery was rather against than for us. That they pretended to serve us is true; but it is not true that they did serve us. It was Lal Singh's game to do as little as possible for us, and to claim the greatest merit. That he well knew the advantage, to the Durbar, of breaking up a mutinous and costly army, which it could neither controul nor pay, is not to be doubted. The strength of the army had been doubled since Runjeet Singh's time; and its pay had been doubled. The Sirdars felt that, if the Sikhs were beaten, it would be a gain to them, and they prepared for such a contingency, by endeavoring to ingratiate themselves with the British leaders. But they did not desire, nor did they endeavour, to compass the failure of the Sikh operations. If such had really been the wish of their hearts, they would have acted in a very different manner. They would, in the first place, have fore-warned us of the intentions of the Sikh army to cross the river. The enemy commenced their passage of the Sutlej on the 11th of December. On the 12th, Lal Singh opened a communication with Captain Nicolson, making a merit of sending round the Sikh Cavalry by Hurríkí. As the first movement was to have been on Ferozepore, the Cavalry would have been of little use; and Lal Singh was aware that, in taking this step, he was earning, or endeavouring to earn, the favour of the British at the smallest possible cost to the Sikhs. On the 19th, after the battle of Múdkhí, Lal Singh's agent came to Major Broadfoot, and was dismissed with a rebuke. From that day to the 7th of February, no communication of any kind was received from Lal Singh, or from Tej Singh. It is believed that

* It was sufficiently certain and notorious at the time, that Lal Singh was in communication with Captain Nicolson, the British agent at Fírozpur, but, owing to the untimely death of that officer, the details of the overtures made, and expectations held out, cannot now be satisfactorily known.—Compare Dr. Macgregor's *History of the Sikhs*, ii. 80.

† Lal Singh was appointed Vuzir, and Tej Singh commander-in-chief of the army, on or about the 3th November, 1845, according to the *Lahore News Letter* of that date, prepared for Government.

the former sent Colonel Lawrence a sketch of the Sikh entrenchments at Sobraon: but our engineer officers had gained by that time the information that we desired to possess, and the Sirdar's communication was of little or no value to us. Lal Singh was wounded at Ferozshuhur; he was with the Sikh army after its defeat at Sobraon, and only quitted it after the arrival of the British at Lahore.

We cannot perceive, indeed, that he threw any obstacle in the way of the success of the Khâlsa. The Sikhs had 150 pieces of artillery to ferry across the river; and it was good policy, in order to facilitate this movement, to send the cavalry to cross lower down. They could not have been prepared to attack us before the 15th, when they advanced in large numbers upon Ferozepore; but upon Sir John Littler moving out to meet them on the 16th, they declined the contest and retired. Another demonstration was made with no result on the 17th. It is surmised that Tej Singh, apprehensive of the issue of the contest, and hearing that the Governor-General was advancing with 5,000 to 6,000 men, advised Lal Singh to post himself at Ferozshuhur, in order to intercept us on our way, as he concluded, to the reinforcement of Ferozepore. Ferozshuhur was occupied by the Sikhs on the 17th; and, on the following day, a division was pushed on to Múdkhí. Lal Singh made no effort to apprize us of these movements. Had he really been a traitor to the Khâlsa, he would have taken measures to forewarn us of the contiguity of the Sikh force, on the morning of the 18th of December.

The treachery of Tej Singh is equally doubtful. This Sirdar is pronounced to be a traitor, because he did not attack the British on the morning of the 22nd of December. But our army had then just beaten the Sikhs at Ferozshuhur, and captured their camp-equipage and eighty pieces of artillery Flying from our attacking columns, the routed Sikhs fell back on Tej Singh's force, and carried dismay into its ranks. Had he known that the British had exhausted their ammunition, we do not doubt that he would have advanced to give us battle. It is said, indeed, that he did offer to lead his regiments to the attack; but that they declined so hazardous an enterprize. If not, the *Punches* were with the army, and they could have decreed the attack.

We now come to a more important passage, embodying, like the last, a large amount of error. It relates to the alleged treachery of Golab Singh, and the compact said to have been entered into with him before the battle of Sobraon. After nar-

rating, with a little poetical exaggeration, the battle of Aliwal, Captain Cunningham goes on to say:—

"The victory was equally important and opportune, and the time-serving Golab Singh, whose skill and capacity might have protracted the war, first reproached the vanquished Sikhs for rashly engaging in hostilities with their colossal neighbour, and then entered into negotiations with the English leaders. The Governor-General was not displeased that the Lahore authorities should be ready to yield; for he truly felt that to subjugate the Punjab in one season, to defeat an army as numerous as his own, to take two capitals, and to lay siege to Múltan, and Jummú, and Peshawur,—all within a few months,—was a task of difficult achievement, and full of imminent risk. The dominion of the English in India hinges mainly upon the number and efficiency of the troops of their own race which they can bring into the field; and a campaign in the hot weather would have thinned the ranks of the European regiments under the most favorable circumstances, and the ordinary recurrence of an epidemic disease would have proved as fatal to the officers of every corps present as to the common soldiers. But besides this important consideration, it was felt that the minds of men throughout India were agitated, and that protracted hostilities would not only jeopardize the communications with the Jumna, but might disturb the whole of the north-western provinces, swarming with a military population, which is ready to follow any standard affording pay or allowing plunder, and which already sighs for the end of a dull reign of peace. Bright visions of standing triumphant on the Indus, and of numbering the remotest conquests of Alexander among the provinces of Britain, doubtless warmed the imagination of the Governor-General; but the first object was to drive the Sikhs across the Sutlej by force of arms, or to have them withdrawn to their own side of the river by the unconditional submission of the chiefs and the delegates of the army; for, until that were done, no progress could be said to have been made in the war, and every petty chief in Hindostan would have silently prepared for asserting his independence, or for enlarging his territory on the first opportunity. But the total dispersion of so large and so well equipped a body of brave men, as that which lay within sight of the available force of the British Government, could not be accomplished by one defeat, if the chiefs of the country were to be rendered desperate, and if all were to place their valor and unanimity under the direction of one able man. The English, therefore, intimated to Golab Singh their readiness to acknowledge a Sikh sovereignty in Lahore, after the army should have been disbanded; but the Raja declared his inability to deal with the troops, which still overawed him and other well wishers to the family of Runjeet Singh. This helplessness was partly exaggerated for selfish objects; but time pressed; the speedy dictation of a treaty under the walls of Lahore was essential to the British reputation; and the views of either party were in some sort met by an understanding, that the Sikh army should be attacked by the English, and that, when beaten, it should be openly abandoned by its own Government; and further, that the passage of the Sutlej should be unopposed, and the road to the capital laid open to the victors. Under such circumstances of discreet policy and shameless treason was the battle of Sobraon fought."

In a note to this passage, Captain Cunningham says, "Compare the Governor-General's letter to the Secret Committee of the 19th February, 1846; from which, however, those only,

'who were mixed up with the negociations, can extract aught 'indicative of the understanding with Golab Singh, which is 'alluded to in the text." Assuredly the uninitiated cannot discern traces of this foul compact in the document indicated; and we shrewdly suspect that the present commentator, like certain Shaksperian critics, knows better the intent of the writer than the writer himself, whom we believe to have been innocent of the occult meanings which Captain Cunningham detects with his keen official eyes. The fact is that Golab Singh had no power to sacrifice the army in the manner alleged. Lord Hardinge expressly stated, as he firmly believed, that "the Ranee and the 'chiefs feel, that they can offer no guarantee for the performance of 'any conditions they may propose to us—that they are at the 'mercy of the army, which is too strong for its own Government 'to deal with." Golab Singh had been attacked at Jummú early in 1845, and had been brought a prisoner to Lahore. Sixty lakhs of rupees had been extorted from him; and he had, with difficulty, escaped with his life. He had taken no part in the war; but, having been urgently sent for, in January 1846, he appeared at Lahore. Then the Sikh army was entrenched at Sobraon; and it was well known that Lord Hardinge, who had then had no communication with Golab Singh, was only waiting the arrival of the heavy guns to attack the enemy's position. Fifteen thousand men and fifty guns under Runjoor Singh had been sent to Lúdiana to intercept the train of artillery—which is some evidence of the reality of the thing, especially as Runjoor Singh was notoriously hostile to the British. Lal Singh and Tej Sing were with the main army; but, "traitors" as they were, were holding no communication with the British. It was of great importance to us that we should be informed at the time of the movements of the Sikhs, especially of the detachments sent to reinforce Runjoor Singh, that we might make corresponding detachments; but Lal Singh and Tej Singh were silent. All the information we obtained was from our own spies.

Then was fought the battle of Aliwal; and on the 3rd of February, the Governor-General, in reporting these events to the Secret Committee, thus spoke of his intentions:—"It may 'be politic and proper, in the course of the discussions which 'may arise, to weaken the territorial power of the Government of 'Lahore, by rendering the Rajpúts of the Hills independent 'of those of the plains, and by these means involving a loss 'of a portion of their territory." This, we say, was written on the 3d of February. The battle of Sobroan was fought on the 10th. Golab Singh remained neuter; but he did nothing—

he could do nothing—to render the army an easy prey to the British. The intentions of the Governor-General, as indicated in the passage above quoted, were not to benefit Golab Singh; but to weaken the Lahore State. They were no part of a compact entered into with the Jummú Rajah, but part of a scheme of policy determined upon, before communication had been entered into with that chief. Golab Singh knew, and openly stated, that the Sikh army was beyond his controul; and that there was little treachery on the part of the other sirdars may be pretty well gathered from the fact recorded in the Commander-in-Chief's narrative of the battle of Sobraon, that eight Sikh chiefs fell, at the head of their men, in that sanguinary strife. The army appears not to have regarded either Tej Singh, or Lal Singh, as a traitor; but to have recognised their authority to the last: and, if the British commanders reaped any benefit from the "treachery" of these men, they have yet to discover what it was.

The closing scene of the battle of Sobraon is thus described by Captain Cunningham:—

"Amid the deafening roar of cannon, and the multitudinous fire of musketry, the shouts of triumph or of scorn were yet heard, and the flashing of innumerable swords was yet visible; or, from time to time, exploding magazines of powder threw bursting shells, and beams of wood, and banks of earth, high above the agitated sea of smoke and flame, which enveloped the host of combatants, and for a moment arrested the attention amid all the din and tumult of the tremendous conflict. But gradually each defensible position was captured, and the enemy was pressed towards the scarcely-fordable river; yet, although assailed on either side by squadrons of horse and battalions of foot, no Sikh offered to submit, and no disciple of Govind asked for quarter. They everywhere showed a front to the victors, and stalked slowly and sullenly away, while many rushed singly forth to meet assured death by contending with a multitude. The victors looked with stolid wonderment upon the indomitable courage of the vanquished, and forbore to strike, when the helpless and the dying frowned unavailing hatred. But the warlike rage, or the calculating policy, of the leaders had yet to be satisfied; and, standing with the slain heaped on all sides around them, they urged troops of artillery almost into the waters of the Sutlej to destroy more thoroughly the army, which had so long scorned their power. No deity of heroic fable received the living within the oozy gulphs of the oppressed stream, and its current was choked with added numbers of the dead, and crimsoned with the blood of a fugitive multitude.

"Such is the lust of never-dying fame."

But vengeance was complete; the troops, defiled with dust and smoke and carnage, stood mute indeed for a moment, until, the glory of their success rushing upon their minds, they gave expression to their feelings, and hailed their victorious commanders with reiterated shouts of triumph and congratulation."

We believe that nothing more unjust—nothing more untrue —than the allusion in this extract to the "warlike rage or calculating policy of the commanders" was ever yet penned by an English historian. It is not the fact, that the British leaders, standing amidst heaps of the slain, incited the artillery to fire upon the fugitive masses of the enemy. What Lord Gough thought, in that dreadful hour of carnage, of the stern necessities of war, is, as Captain Cnnningham knows, on record; and we have reason to believe that his feelings were shared by the Governor-General, whose humanity has never until now been questioned. Lord Gough, in a private letter quoted by Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, said, "Policy, however, pre-'cluded me from publicly recording my sentiments on the 'splendid gallantry of our fallen foe; and I declare that, were 'it not for a deep conviction that my country's good required 'the sacrifice, I could have wept to have witnessed the fearful 'slaughter of so devoted a body of men." There was neither warlike rage, nor calculating policy. The artillery merely did their duty, however terrible, in the ordinary course of war. The Sikhs neither give nor take quarter. They had, on former, as on recent, occasions, massacred and mutilated our wounded men; and they had then, at Sobraon, defended their entrenched position with remarkable obstinacy, and their murderous artillery had told with terrible effect upon our advancing columns. The more obstinate, under such circumstances, the resistance, the more deadly the retribution that follows. This is not only the necessity, but in some sort the righteousness of war, tending rather towards humanity than inhumanity in the end, by deterring beleaguered armies from the protracted but hopeless resistance, which, after the issue of the contest is virtually decided, leads to so much wanton effusion of blood.

The transfer of Cashmere to Golab Singh is commented upon by Captain Cunningham as an act "scarcely worthy the British name and greatness;" but on this subject we have, on former occasions, expressed our opinions so fully, that we need not now revert to it. The historian says (and truly) of the Maharajah, "He must be judged with reference to the morality of his age 'and race, and to the necessities of his own position. If these 'allowances be made, Golab Singh will he found an able and 'moderate man, who does little in an idle or wanton spirit, 'and who is not without some traits both of good humour and 'generosity of temper." He is assuredly no worse, and he is much abler, than the majority of his contemporaries. We cannot so readily assent to what Captain Cunningham says, in his

anxiety to extenuate, the alleged licentiousness of the Ranee and her paramour, or rather to invalidate the allegation. The treaty of Byrowal needs no allegation from us. It was forced upon us by the ceaseless intrigues of the Ranee and Lal Sing; and the subsequent removal of the former to the British provinces was equally an act of necessity upon our part, and one which, however great the punishment, was inadequate to the measure of her crimes.

We now take leave somewhat abruptly of Capt. Cunningham and his book. The volume has not been sufficiently long in our hands to admit of a careful examination of its entire contents. We have written notes on certain detached passages, rather than embraced the whole in one comprehensive review. But we believe that, in what we have written, we have done no injustice to Capt. Cunningham. So far as our comments extend, they are the results of much careful consideration and inquiry. There are chapters of Sikh history, not the least interesting and instructive, yet to be written. Capt. Cunningham has great faith in the high destinies of the Khâlsa; and perhaps we cannot better conclude our article than with the concluding passages of his book:—

"While the Governor General and Commander in-chief remained at Lahore, at the head of twenty thousand men, portions of the Sikh army came to the capital to be paid up and disbanded. The soldiers showed neither the despondency of mutinous rebels, nor the effrontery and indifference of mercenaries, and their manly deportment added lustre to that valour, which the victors had dearly felt and generously extolled. The men talked of their defeat as the chance of war, or they would say that *they* were mere imitators of unapproachable masters. But amid all their humiliation, they inwardly dwelt upon their future destiny with unabated confidence; and, while gaily calling themselves inapt and youthful scholars, they would sometimes add, with a significant and sardonic smile, that the "Khâlsa" itself was yet a child, and that, as the commonwealth of Sikhs grew in stature, Govind would clothe his disciples with irresistible might, and guide them with unequalled skill. Thus brave men sought consolation; and the spirit of progress, which collectively animated them, yielded with a murmur to the superior genius of England and civilization, to be chastened by the rough hand of power, and perhaps to be moulded to the noblest purposes, by the informing touch of knowledge and philosophy."

To this passage the historian has appended an interesting note:—

"In March, 1846, or immediately after the war, the author visited the Sikh temples and establishments at Kiritpúr and Anundpur-Makhowal. At the latter place, the chosen seat of Govind, reliance upon the future was likewise strong; and the grave priests or ministers said, by way of assurance, that the pure faith of the Khâlsa was intended for all coun-

tries and times; and added, by way of compliment, that the disciples of Nânuk would ever be grateful for the aid, which the stranger English had rendered, in subverting the empire of the intolerant and oppressive Mahometans!"

We add the concluding homily on the position of the English in India; but we by no means assent to the proposition, that hitherto all the thoughts of England in the East "have been given to the extension of her supremacy."

"The separate sway of the Sikhs and the independence of the Punjab have come to an end, and England reigns the undisputed mistress of the broad and classic land of India. Her political supremacy is more regular and systematic than the antique rule of the Brahmins and Kshutrís, and it is less assailable from without, than the imperfect domination of the Mahometans; for in disciplined power and vastness of resources, in unity of action and intelligence of design, her government surpasses the experience of the East, and emulates the magnificent prototype of Rome. But the Hindús made the country wholly their own; and from sea to sea, from the snowy mountains almost to the fabled bridge of Rama, the language of the peasant is still that of the twice-born races; the speech of the wild foresters and mountaineers of the centre and south has been permanently tinged by the old predominance of the Kshutrís, and the hopes and fears and daily habits of myriads of men still vividly represent the genial myths and deep philosophy of the Brahmins, which more than two thousand years ago arrested the attention of the Greeks. The Mahometans entered the country to destroy, but they remained to colonize; and swarms of the victorious races long continued to pour themselves over its rich plains, modifying the language and ideas of the vanquished, and becoming themselves altered by the contact, until, in the time of Akber, the "Islâm" of India was a national system, and until, in the present day, the Hindú and Mahometan do not practically differ more from one another, than did the Brahmins and Kshutris and Veisyas of the time of Munnú, and Alexander. They are different races, with different religious systems, but harmonizing together in social life, and mutually understanding, and respecting, and taking a part in each other's modes, and ways, and doings. They are thus silently, but surely, removing one another's differences and peculiarities, so that a new element results from the common destruction, to become developed into a faith or a fact in future ages. The rise to power of contemned Súdra tribes, in the persons of Mahrattas, Gúrkhas, and Sikhs, has brought about a further mixture of the rural population and of the lower orders in towns and cities; and has thus given another blow to the reverence for antiquity. The religious creed of the people seems to be even more indeterminate than their spoken dialects, and neither the religion of the Arabian prophet, nor the theology of the Veds and Púrans, is to be found pure, except among professed Múllas and educated Brahmins; or among the rich and great of either persuasion. Over this seething and fusing mass, the power of England has been extended, and her spirit sits brooding. Her pre-eminence in the modern world may well excite the envy of the nations; but it behoves her to ponder well upon the mighty task, which her adventurous children have set her in the East, and to be certain that her sympathizing labours in the cause of humanity

are guided by intelligence towards a true and attainable end. She rules supreme as the welcome composer of political troubles; but the thin superficies of her dominion rests tremblingly upon the convulsed ocean of social change and mental revolution. Her own high civilization, and the circumstances of her intervention, isolate her in all her greatness; she can appeal to the reason only of her subjects, and can never lean upon the enthusiasm of their gratitude or predilections. To preserve her political ascendancy, she must be ever prudent and circumspect; and to leave a lasting impress, she must do more than erect palaces and temples, the mere material monuments of dominion. Like Greece and Rome, she may rear edifices of surpassing beauty; she may bridge gulphs and pierce mountains with the wand of wealth and science. Like these ancient people, she may even give birth in strange lands to such kings as Herod the Great, and to such historians as Flavius Josephus; but, like imperial Rome, she may live to behold a Vortigern call in a Hengist, and a Syagrius yield to a Clovis. She may teach another Cymbeline the amenities of civilized life, and she may move another Attalus to bequeath to her another Pergamus. These are tasks of easy achievement; but she must also endeavor to give her poets and her sages an immortality among nations unborn, to introduce laws which shall still be in force at the end of sixty generations, and to tinge the faith and the minds of the people with her sober science and just morality, as Christianity was affected by the adoptive policy of Rome, and by the plastic philosophy of Greece. Of all these things England must sow the seeds, and lay the foundations, before she can hope to equal or surpass her great exemplars.

But England can do nothing until she has rendered her dominion secure; and hitherto all her thoughts have been given to the extension of her supremacy. Up to this time she has been a rising power, the welcome supplanter of Moghuls and Mahrattas, and the ally which the remote weak sought against the neighbouring strong. But her greatness is at its height; it has come to *her* turn to be feared instead of courted, and the hopes of men are about to be built on her wished-for destruction. The princes of India can no longer acquire fame or territory by preying upon one another.

Under the exact sway of their new paramount, they must divest themselves of ambition, and of all the violent passions of their nature, and they must try to remain kings, without exercising the most loved of the functions of rulers. The Indians, indeed, will themselves politely liken England and her dependent sovereigns to the benignant moon accompanied by hosts of rejoicing stars in her nightly progress, rather than to the fierce sun which rides the heavens in solitude, scarcely visible amidst intolerable brightness; but men covet power as well as ease, and crave distinction as well as wealth; and thus it is with those who endeavor to jest with adversity. England has immediately to make her attendant princes feel, that while resistance is vain, they are themselves honoured, and hold a substantive position in the economy of the imperial government, instead of being merely tolerated as bad rulers, or regarded with contempt and aversion as half-barbarous men. Her rule has hitherto mainly tended to the benefit of the trading community. Men of family and of name find no place in the society of their masters, and no employment in the service of the state; and while the peasants have been freed from occasional ruinous exaction, and from more rare personal torture, they are oppressed and impoverished by a well-meant but cumbrous and inefficient law, and by an excessive and partial taxation, which looks almost wholly to the

land for the necessary revenue of a government.* The husbandman is sullen and indifferent; the gentleman nurses his wrath in secrecy; kings idly chafe and intrigue; and all are ready to hope for everything from a change of masters. The merchant alone sits partly happy in the reflection, that, if he is not honoured with titles and office, the path to wealth has been made smooth, and its enjoyment rendered secure.

Princes and nobles and yeomen can all be kept in obedience for generations by overwhelming means, and by a more complete military system than at present obtains. Numerous forts and citadels, the occasional assemblage of armies, and the formation of regiments separately composed of different tribes and races, will long serve to ensure supremacy, and to crush the efforts of individuals; but England has carefully to watch the progress of that change in social relations and religious feelings, of which Sikhism is the most marked exponent. Among all ranks of men there is a spirit at work, which rejects as vain the ancient forms and ideas, whether of Brahminism or Mahometanism, and which clings for present solace and future happiness to new intercessors, and to another manifestation of divine power and mercy. This labouring spirit has developed itself most strongly on the confines of the two antagonist creeds; but the feeling pervades the Indian world, and the extension of Sikh arms would speedily lead to the recognition of Nânuk and Govind, as the long looked-for Comforters. The Sikhs have now been struck by the petrific hand of material power; and the ascendancy of a third race has everywhere infused new ideas, and modified the aspirations of the people. The confusion has thus been increased for a time; but the pregnant fermentation of mind must eventually body itself forth in new shapes; and a prophet of name unknown may arise to diffuse a system, which shall consign the Veds and Koran to the oblivion of the Zendavest and the Sibylline Leaves, and which may not perhaps absorb one ray of light from the wisdom and morality of that faith, which adorns the civilization of the Christian rulers of the country. But England must hope that she is not to exercise an unfruitful sway; and she will add fresh lustre to her renown, and derive an additional claim to the gratitude of posterity, if she can seize upon the essential principles of that element, which disturbs her multitudes of Indian subjects, and imbue the mental agitation with new qualities of beneficent fertility, so as to give to it an impulse and a direction, which shall surely lead to the prevalence of a religion of truth, and to the adoption of a government of freedom and progress."

* Captain Cunningham's opinion of the Police is exactly the same as that of our friend Pauxon Kouar. He says, in a note p. 338, "The police of India is notoriously corrupt and oppressive; and even the useful establishment for tracing Thugs and Dakoits, or banded assassins and confederate robbers, may before long become as *great an evil*, in one way, as *the gangs of criminals* they are breaking up, in another. The British rule is most defective in the prevention and detection of crime; and, while supremely powerful in military means, the Government is comparatively valueless, as the guardian of the private property of the citizens.—Ed.

POSTSCRIPT TO ARTICLE ON THE REVELATIONS OF AN ORDERLY CONCERNNIG THE POLICE AND COURTS.

At the conclusion of this article we have inadvertently done an injustice, which we desire to correct. Referring to the coal monopoly in the Damooda coal field, and to the representations made to Government by capitalists and adventurers, for the purpose of obtaining legal protection, we have added the words,—"but in vain." These words, obviously parenthetical, are not strictly correct, as will appear from the following statement, which we have derived from an unquestionable source of information.

The disorders of the coal district, and the manner in which the coal monopoly was maintained, having been specially brought under the notice and consideration of the Right Honorable the present Governor-General, his Lordship at once determined, that more active and efficacious measures should be taken for the suppression of these evils. Appropriate admonitions for past errors, remissness, partiality, or neglect, were issued from Head Quarters to the local authorities,—and that immediately: and other measures were devised and ordered. But the execution of these depended on the agency of the local functionaries of the Bengal Government; and, as usual, where their co-operation is necessary, several months passed away before the first step was taken towards the execution of his Lordship's orders.

At length after a delay of some months' inquiry, which his Lordship intended to be the precursor of remedial measures, was begun. It has since been concluded, and we presume is now forgotten; for, his Lordship being away, it remains abortive; and, after an interval of several months, not even a report has been made to Government.

Not only indeed has the policy of Lord Dalhousie not been carried out, but, since his departure, the Government has acted as if it were in actual complicity with the monopolists. A Deputy Magistrate had, some two or three years, before [illegible]

placed in the district; but the powers of Deputy Magistrates vary; and the one alluded to had little more than the powers of an Inspector of the Police; he could take up no case judicially, without first reporting it to the Civil Service Magistrate, who was sixty miles off, and receiving his orders to do so One of the Governor-General's intended measures was to place in the district an officer with full powers. At the time we are writing, this has not been done: and, what is worse, the district has been for months without even a Deputy Magistrate. His Lordship being away, it appears, that his policy and ideas have been abandoned, and the local Government, as if to punish those who appealed to superior authority, has retrogaded and reversed that policy. The consequence is, that the monopolists are at their old tricks; and in three months they have regained by extraordinary vigour the "head and front," which they had lost during the incumbency of the late Deputy Magistrate.

We shall conclude by observing that the conduct of the Bengal Government is a justification of the monopolists, and we congratulate *them* accordingly: but, with respect to the Government, if such a case had occurred in England, the ministry of the day would have to meet the most serious charges in the Houses of Parliament. How long is such a state of things to last? In vain Her Majesty sends out her choicest Statesmen to the head of affairs, while the Court of Directors is allowed to appoint and stamp its spirit on the Legislative Council and local Governments, and the Governor General has no subordinate instruments but such as the Court gives him.